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CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

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CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

PRAVDA, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Articles on CSCE Cited [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 2 Aug] BB 1

BULGARIA

Khristov Calls for Enhanced Quality, Exports [Cukic in Belgrade BORBA 2 Aug] C 1
'Reason Prevails' in Congress as Bill Fails C 2
U.S. Policy Termed Economic Blackmail C 2
Zhivkov, AKEL Leader Exchange Views on Issues C 3
Zhivkov Gives Luncheon C 3
Wide Ranging Agreement Noted [Nicosia KHARAVYI 5 Aug] C 4
Khristov Speaks at Congolese Party Conference [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 31 Jul] C 6
Returns From Congo C 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Poles Want Further Easing of U.S. Sanctions D 1
West Supports Emigres' Campaign of Unrest, Alarm [Porybny in Bratislava PRAVDA 31 Jul] D 1
CP's Role as Revolutionary Vanguard Defined [Bratislava PRAVDA 2 Aug] D 2
Living Standard Rises First Half of 1984 D 3

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Poland Demands Normalization of U.S. Relations E 1
Schuerer Holds Economic Talks With USSR Official E 1

HUNGARY

Development of FRG-GDR Ties Receives Endorsement [DPA] F 1
Easing of Polish Sanctions Termed Noteworthy F 1

POLAND

U.S. Officially Confirms Lifting of Sanctions G 1
Reagan Still 'Usurps Right To Interfere' G 1
Sanctions Harm All Areas of Social, Economic Life G 1
Development Hindered G 2
Western Restrictions Represent Illegal Policy [Lobman in TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Jul] G 3
Urban Views U.S. Lifting of Sanctions, Policy G 4
U.S. Reactions to Olympics Raise Questions [Broniarek in TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Aug] G 5

Iranian Trade Delegation Discusses Cooperation G 6
Belgian Communist Leader Visits, Meets Czyrek G 7
KOR, Solidarity Members Released From Prison [AFP] G 7
KPN President Freed [AFP] G 7
Former Solidarity Leader on Rebuilding Union [AFP] G 8
Jaworski's Comments [AFP] G 9
Courts Continue Implementing Amnesty in 2d Week G 9
Urban on Western Press, Amnesty, Church, FRG G 9
["B.Dr." in ZYCIE WARSZAWY 1 Aug]
New Codes on Officials' Duties, Citizens' Rights G 13
[TRYBUNA LUDU 28/29 Jul]
Control Commission Presidium Meets 27 July G 15
[TRYBUNA LUDU 28/29 Jul]
Barcikowski, Gorywoda on 1985 Central Plan G 16
[Leszczynski in TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Jul]
Direction of Pluralism in Trade Unions, Society G 18
[Salecki in TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Jul]
CC Official on PZPR's Ideological Direction G 19
[TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Aug]
Investigation of Fatal Shooting Near Lubrza G 20
Persons Sentenced for Speculation Jan-Jun 1984 G 21
[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 31 Jul]
Church, Solidarity Promote Sobriety Campaign G 22
[Vatican City]
Olszowski Speaks on CSCE Ninth Anniversary G 23
[TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Aug]

YUGOSLAVIA

Lifting of Polish Sanctions 'Election Trick' I 1
[Novak]
USSR, GDR Polemics Threaten Honecker Visit I 1
[Sundic]
Sofia Rally Denies Macedonian Identity I 2
Presidency Member Vrhovec Meets GDR's Schuerer I 3
[BORBA 1 Aug]
Djuranovic Welcomes Mubarek on Arrival in Brioni I 3
Congolese Foreign Minister Receives LCY's Lolic I 4
[BORBA 2 Aug]
Retail Prices Rise 5.4 Percent From June to July I 4
Papal Message to Bishop Contrary to 1966 Accord I 4
Book on 1968 Student Demonstrations Banned I 5
[M.P. in VJESNIK 31 Jul]
Zarkovic Addresses Brotherhoood, Unity Rally I 5
General Radakovic on Struggle Against Dogmatism I 7
[BORBA 30 Jul]
Djuranovic Visits Oteks Textiles Plant in Ohrid I 7

PRAVDA, NEUES DEUTSHLAND ARTICLES ON CSCE CITED

AU051355 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Aug 84 p 3

[MTI report: "It Is Possible To Return to Detente; the Press of the Socialist Countries Appraises the Significance of the Helsinki Process"]

[Excerpts] The press of several socialist countries have marked the ninth anniversary of the Helsinki meeting. In its editorial on Wednesday, 1 August, PRAVDA recalled: 9 years ago, with the signing of the Final Act, 35 countries solemnly pledged to unceasingly make detente an increasingly vigorous and multifaceted process. Forces of U.S. imperialism, brutally violating the principle included in the Helsinki Final Act, are again striving for confrontation and are continuing the arms race whose particularly dangerous phase was begun by the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Nevertheless, the Helsinki agreements have brought quite a few positive results, the central paper of the CPSU points out. Bilateral and multilateral relations and interstate consultations have become active in Europe, and mutually advantageous cooperation in the areas of the economy, science, culture, and education has expanded. The experiences of the seventies convincingly proved that detente is a necessary and fruitful process for all the peoples.

Unfortunately, the situation in Europe again became difficult at the beginning of the eighties. Washington's and NATO's war preparations considerably harm European secuirty PRAVDA writes, and again stresses: The socialist countries will never allow the developed military-strategic balance to be upset. They are taking defensive countersteps that counterbalance the danger posed by the Pershing II and cruise missiles.

Next PRAVDA quotes the words of Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: The Soviet Union is ready for constructive and sincere cooperation with every state that wishes to take practical steps in favor of easing international tension and creating an atmosphere of mutual trust.

Following this, the editorial explains the most important peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist community and points out: The most important task in Europe in our days is to halt the stockpiling of nuclear weapons. In order to achieve this, it is necessary, first of all, to end the deployment of new U.S. missiles in the NATO countries. If steps are taken for the withdrawal of those missiles already deployed, the Soviet Union will take steps to modify its own countermeausres; this would create the possibility for the renewal of negotiations on the radical limitation and decrease of nuclear weapons in Europe.

A NEUES DEUTSCHLAND editorial on Wednesday, 1 August, recalling the ninth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki, states that countries of a different social order -- thus the Warsaw Pact and the NATO countries, too -- must continue the dialogue between them. With the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the most dangerous situation since World War II has emerged. In many West European countries, however, there are responsibly thinking politicians who are searching for possibilities of a return to detente. There is a real chance that those who claim that all problems can be solved through negotiations will become the majority.

The paper recalls that, according to the documents accepted at the November meeting of the SED Central Committee, damage to the process of detente must be diminished as much as possible. The GDR is continuing its policy in this spirit.

We are actively contributing to the implementation of the proposals outlined by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the Prague Declaration, and repeatedly stressed afterwards, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes. It goes without saying, it adds, that the common wish for peace of the socialist community also determines the GDR policy toward the FRG. The socialist German state wishes, first of all, to contribute to the fact that war never again emanates from German soil.

KHRISTOV CALLS FOR ENHANCED QUALITY, EXPORTS

AU032055 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 84 p 5

[Report by BORBA special correspondent Dusan Cukic]

[Excerpts] Sofia, August -- A drought has hit the cultivated land all the way to Plovdiv, and Rangel Portev, young director of the cooperative farm in Brestovitsa on the slopes of the Rhodope Mountains, former Komsomol leader and village mayor, also fears for the vineyards:

"Every drop of rain would be welcome, but for months," he says, "the sky has shown no mercy. For this reason the water from the irrigation canals does not help the crops much, and this water will soon be exhausted."

Fears for Harvest

And in Sofia, in the center of the city, in the shade of the building into which one cannot enter without an invitation, at the Bulgarian party Central Committee from where ideas and decisions originate, they also fear for the harvest -- recently all newspapers have carried dramatic front-page appeals to the nation to do as much as possible to prevent the unbearable drought from inflicting disastrous damage on agriculture.

Somehow this misfortune will be overcome and thus we used our meetings with Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, first to clarify what we had learned in Brestovitsa: Is it true that there has been a radical move, according to which certain exporters are allowed to keep the entire sum of foreign currency -- which is badly needed here, too -- for the goods sold abroad?

The secretary of the Central Committee nods his head affirmatively, as if to say, yes, this is the case. And more than that: As of next year, he tells us in a probably exclusive piece of information, the circle of exporters will be expanded to the complete network of exporters under the condition that it finance production. This means that everyone will get what is his; centralistic distribution in this field is abandoned.

How and for what reason have the Bulgarians decided this?

The present method of state planning -- and Emil Khristov continues to give priority to the plan's foundations -- has obstructed businessmen's initiative: namely, as in other countries having a similar system, the apparatus has imposed the rules of behavior in detail. Accordingly, what is important is the volume of production, while hardly anyone cares about quality. For this reason it is not strange that most goods do not reach the buyer and that warehouses are becoming increasingly more cramped.

"Figures no longer mean anything to us," the secretary says calmly and convincingly. "For this reason we decided in favor of national programs with which we can enter the world. Through CEMA and wider afield, we are trying to strengthen our positions in the specialization of the transport machine-building industry, for instance, and to expand our presence in electronics and in some other areas. In doing this, the state will extend maximum assistance, knowing that it is not doing something that is unknown on this earth. This is already done by many countries, and we want to take our chances. The center can no longer manage the economy as was the case 2 or more decades ago, because a professional cadre has developed that can be trusted and whose capability cannot be questioned. Naturally, there is resistance to this orientation. The so-called "medium level" opposes it, but there are ways to make them, too, comprehend the correctness of moves."

The first step has obviously been tested for a long time, and now the paths for further action have already been traced: Next year, Bulgaria will get regulations on the independence of work collectives. Directors will be appointed by decree, as now, but councils will be formed by direct secret ballot with at least two candidates for each post. Their task is to adopt plans and to take care of production, something that has so far been an exclusive power and concern of the state organs. In this connection, special emphasis is put on the brigade as the factory's backbone; within what has been agreed, the brigade is responsible for the volume and quality of production.

"There is no ceiling for wages," the secretary of the Central Committee assures us, "because we must get workers interested in what is produced by their hands. What is indispensable is more initiative, a different approach, market research, and a change from the past criteria. Our intention is to increase exports to the West and to maintain our role with CEMA."

"Thus far every product of our factories has had one of three assessments," Emil Khristov explains. "'One' designates the quality according to the domestic taste, then comes 'two' with which it is possible to reach the market, and then comes grade 'three' which is for rejects. It is certain, however, that as of 1 January many products will no longer pass because we will judge by what can be sold abroad. For instance, forklifts have a good reputation abroad, but in the future they will get approval for leaving the factory only if they are equal to an American or other best product."

'REASON PREVAILS' IN CONGRESS AS BILL FAILS

AU041437 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] It became known in Washington that a joint committee of the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate has rejected the amendment to the draft budget bill providing for restricting U.S. trade with Bulgaria. This amendment was submitted by the extreme rightist senator of the Republican Party, Jesse Helms, and was adopted by the U.S. Senate It was based on the absolutely groundless charges regarding an imaginary Bulgarian connection with the attack against Pope John Paul II, with the narcotics trade, and other similar fabrications. Its adoption by the Senate was preceded by a noisy anti-Bulgarian campaign carried by the U.S. monopolistic press.

The debates connected with this anti-Bulgarian amendment prove that reason has prevailed in the U.S. Congress and that the fact was taken into account that the charges against Bulgaria were not founded on any realistic evidence.

U.S. POLICY TERMED ECONOMIC BLACKMAIL

AU031203 Sofia BTA in English 1119 GMT 3 Aug 84

["The U.S. Is Against Mutually Advantageous Economic Relations" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 3 -- "Now that the expectations that detente will aid the internal erosion of socialism have collapsed, the most reactionary quarters are again on the cold war path in all spheres, economy included", says an article carried in the TRUD paper. The author analyses the U.S.-pursued line of economic sanctions against the socialist countries.

He points out that despite the opposition of realistically minded congressmen, the U.S. Administration persists in giving legal sanctions to the policies of freezing East-West economic relations. An example to this effect is the amendment to the appropriation bill, adopted by the U.S. Senate, which bans the allocation of funds for the promotion of trade with Bulgaria from the budgets of the Department of Commerce and the Department of State.

Reagan and his followers will not draw the line here. They extend their restrictive acts to other countries, too. "The U.S. resorts to blackmail: If its allies and the neutral countries fail to restrict their trade with the C.M.E.A. member countries, they themselves will be subject to sanctions", TRUD emphases.

After a detailed analysis of the role played by Cocom (the Coordinating Committee for Trade With the Communist Countries), which is an important tool to curb trade with the East, the paper arrives at the following conclusion: "The recent years have witnessed numerous examples, proving the futility of the hopes that economic sanctions will manage to check the confident progress of the world of socialism."

The article indicates that the promotion of economic and techno-scientific cooperation among the European countries with different social orders in the beginning of the 80's has emerged as a substantial barrier in the way of the aggressive forces which try to push the world back to confrontation.

ZHIVKOV, AKEL LEADER EXCHANGE VIEWS ON ISSUES

Zhivkov Gives Luncheon

AU031857 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] At the Evsinograd residence today Comrade Todor Zhivkov met Ezekias Papaioannou, general secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus [AKEL], who is visiting our country for a vacation.

In a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the two leaders exchanged information and briefed each other on the tasks of their parties at the present stage of their development. They discussed topical issues of the international situation and questions pertaining to the communist and workers movement.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Ezekias Papaioannou expressed their great concern over the persistent aggravation of international tension today provoked by the militarist policy of the United States and its NATO allies. They sharply denounced the deployment of new U.S. missiles in a number of Western European countries as a particularly dangerous and irresponsible action. The two leaders pointed out the importance of the peaceful proposals and initiatives submitted by the Soviet Union and by the other socialist countries. They expressed the readiness of the BCP and AKEL to continue to make considerable contributions to the efforts of transforming the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone and to support the initiative to the UN secretary general for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov briefed his guest on our party's activities in implementing the decision of the 12th BCP Congress and of the BCP National Conference on quality problems. He stressed the constructive and peace-loving policy conducted by our country in developing relations of peace, good-neighborliness, and security, as well as cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe, and in the world.

Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou expressed his high appreciation for the successes achieved by the people and country of Bulgaria in building developed socialism and consolidating peace.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Ezekias Papaioannou confirmed the full unanimity of views of both parties on all questions discussed, they expressed their high evaluation of the fraternal relations existing between the BCP and AKEL, expressing all their resolve and mutual wish to further develop these relations on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The two leaders noted with great satisfaction the ascending development of Bulgarian-Cypriot relations and pointed out that their further intensification and expansion are in the interest of both peoples, in the interest of people in the Balkans and in Europe.

Comrade Dimitur Stanishev attended the meeting.

At the Evsinograd residence Comrade Todor Zhivkov presented the Georgi Dimitrov order to Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou for his great contribution to the development of fraternal relations between the peoples of Bulgaria and Cyprus, to the consolidation of the unity of the international communist and workers movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as well as on the occasion of his 75th birthday. Our first party and state leader expressed cordial congratulations to the general secretary of AKEL for the great award presented to him. Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Ezekias Papaioannou delivered speeches on this occasion.

After the ceremony the AKEL general secretary was congratulated by Comrades Yordan Yotov, Stankov, Grigor Stochkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Stoyan Karadzhov, and Dimitur Stanishev.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon in honor of Ezekias Papaioannou. The luncheon, which proceeded in a warm, cordial, and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Yordan Yotov, Stanko Todorov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Stoyan Karadzhov, and Stanko Todorov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Stoyan Karadzhov, and Dimitur Stanishev.

Wide Ranging Agreement Noted

NC050735 Nicosia KHARAVYI in Greek 5 Aug 84 pp 1, 11

["Text" of joint communique issued on talks between BCP General Secretary Todor Zhikov and AKEL Secretary General Ezekias Papaioannou in Varna, Bulgaria, on 3 August]

[Text] BCP Central Committee General Secretary Todor Zhivkov has met with AKEL Secretary General Ezekias Papaioannou who is on vacation in Bulgaria.

During this talks, which were held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the two leaders briefed each other on the problems currently facing the two parties in their respective countries. They also discussed current issues in the international situation as well as in the Communist and workers movement. Comrades Zhivkov and Papaioannou expressed their grave concern over the continuing aggravation of international tension which is caused by the militarist policy of the United States and its NATO allies. They resolutely denounced the U.S. aggressive actions in various parts of the world and its aim for military supremacy and political hegemony, which undermine the bases of smooth relations among states and increase the danger of a nuclear war.

In this connection, the two leaders strongly denounced the installation of new U.S. missiles in various West European countries as a particularly dangerous and irresponsible action.

Under these circumstances, it is more essential than ever that the unity and joint action of all the revolutionary, democratic, and peace-loving forces be consolidated in the struggle for peace and against the aims of the most reactionary imperialist circles.

Comrades Zhivkov and Papaioannou stressed the significance of the peaceful proposals and initiatives of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, which show the way to overcome the nuclear danger, terminate the arms race, and return to dialogue, detente, and peaceful coexistence. At the same time, the two leaders expressed the readiness of the BCP and AKEL to continue exerting resolute efforts for the consolidation of peace and the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

They support the UN secretary general's initiative for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus issue and stress the need for its early solution in accordance with the UN resolutions for an independent, sovereign, territorially integral, demilitarized, and nonaligned Cyprus, something which will be conducive to peace in the eastern Mediterranean, Europe, and the world.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov briefed Comrade Papaioannou on BCP activities in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and of the national party conference on quality problems. He stressed the constructive and peace-loving policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic in developing relations of peace, good neighborliness, security, and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe, and in the world.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed his deep appreciation of AKEL's action in rallying together all the patriotic political forces in the struggle for a truly independent Cypriot state, against foreign occupation and imperialism as well as for peace, democracy, and social progress.

Comrade Ezekias Papaioannou referred with deep appreciation to the achievements of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian People's Republic, under the guidance of the BCP, in the building of developed socialism and the consolidation of peace.

Comrade Papaioannou also referred to AKEL's activities and particularly to the Cypriot people's antioccupation, anti-imperialist, and liberation struggle for rapprochement between Greeks and Turks and a peaceful Cyprus solution, based on the UN resolutions and summit agreements, for a truly independent, sovereign, territorially integral, federal, and demilitarized Cyprus.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Ezekias Papaioannou confirmed the full identity of the two parties' positions on all the issues discusseed. They deeply appreciated the fraternal relations between the BCP and AKEL, expressing their determination and mutual desire to further develop these relations on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in support of the common struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism.

The two leaders noted with great satisfaction the ascending development of Bulgarian-Cypriot relations and stressed that their further expansion and strengthening are in the interest of the Bulgarian and Cypriot peoples as well as of peace in the Balkans and Europe.

The meeting was also attended by BCP Central Committee Secretary Dimitur Stanishev.

Varna, 3 August 1984

KHRISTOV SPEAKS AT CONGOLESE PARTY CONFERENCE

AU012001 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Jul 84 p 5

[Report on speech by Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, to the Third Congress of the Congolese Labor Party on 30 July in Brazzaville]

[Text] I am particularly glad for the great honor given me to convey the most sincere, fraternal greetings to you, the delegates to the Third Congress of the Congolese Labor Party, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee, personally, and on behalf of Bulgarian Communists and working people. Through you I greet all members of your party and all working people of the People's Republic of the Congo, Comrade Emil Khristov stated. As your sincere friends, we wish you with all our hearts fruitful work at this highest-ranking forum of your party.

We listened with great attention and interest to the report of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee, read by Chairman Denis Sassou Nguesso, the loyal continuer and successor of the cause of Comrade Marian Ngouabi, who was a glorious son of the people of the Congo and a courageous fighter for the freedom and independent development of the African peoples. We were deeply impressed by the thorough analysis of previous successes from Marxist points of view, as well as concerning trends for the future of the country along the chosen path of socialist orientation. We are profoundly convinced that your party will leave this congress even more consolidated, capable of fighting, and able to further lead the people even more confidently to greater victories in the struggle for the further consolidation of the political and economic independence of the People's Republic of the Congo.

Comrade Emil Khristov dealt with the successes of socialist Bulgaria achieved in the last 4 decades since the victory of the 9 September revolution.

He further analyzed the present-day, complicated international situation which is exacerbated by the extremely dangerous, militarist policy of the most reactionary and aggressive U S. circles and of their NATO allies.

There is a particularly dangerous hotbed of tension on the African continent, in the south of Africa, where the South African racists are conducting a policy of terror, aggression, and destabilization against the independent neighbor countries and are persisting in the illegal occupation of Namibia, the speaker stated. He pointed out that genuine peace and security in the southern African region can only be achieved after the liquidation of the disgraceful apartheid system, when this military-policy regime is overthrown -- this regime used by the United States as a strike force in trying to achieve U.S. strategic goals and intentions.

The policy conducted by the Soviet Union and the other countries which belong to the socialist community is fully opposed to the aforementioned adventurous and militarist trend. The socialist countries' policy is aimed at liquidating military danger, at preserving and consolidating peace and the development of relations of trust and mutually advantageous cooperation among states, the leader of the Bulgarian BCP Central Committee delegation stressed.

We highly appreciate the active, peaceloving foreign policy of the People's Republic of the Congo, its contribution to the struggle for the consolidation of world peace and understanding, and for cooperation among the peoples in Africa and in the world. We highly appreciate the active participation of the People's Republic of the Congo in the Nonaligned Movement and in the United Nations, as well as the efforts of this country and its contribution to the cohesion and unity of the African peoples on an anti-imperialist basis in the struggle to liquidate the last remnants of colonialism and racism on the African Continent, and in the struggle to achieve the extinction of hotbeds of tension and to achieve peace and social progress, Comrade Emil Khristov pointed out.

From the high rostrum of your congress I would like to confirm our militant solidarity with the frontline countries in Africa, with the heroic struggle waged by the peoples in Namibia and in the Republic of South Africa to achieve their true national and social liberation under the leadership of their only legitimate representatives -- the South-West African People's Organization and the African National Congress.

I would like, on behalf of our party's Central Committee, and on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its secretary general, personally, to declare that in the future we will continue to do everything within our power to consolidate, expand, and intensify the cooperation existing between our two parties and countries, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the benefit of the two friendly peoples, in the interest of our common struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, and for the preservation and consolidation of peace, security, and cooperation among all peoples on our planet, the leader of the BCP Central Committee delegation declared in conclusion.

Returns From Congo

AU041752 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] The BCP delegation led by Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, which had attended the Third Congress of the Congolese Labor Party, has returned home from the People's Republic of the Congo.

He was welcomed at Sofia airport by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

POLES WANT FURTHER EASING OF U.S. SANCTIONS

LD031825 Prague CTK in English 1655 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw Aug 3 (CTK) -- The United States continues to link its step with political conditions which are actually interference in the decisions of Polish authorities, the PAP news agency said today.

Reporting the communication from a U.S. representative in Warsaw that the U.S. Administration was planning to resume scientific exchanges with Poland and restore the right of Polish LOT airlines to land in the United States, the agency noted that the U.S. Administration made this willingness conditional on its own assessment of whether the amnesty declared by the Polish parliament is carried out consistently.

The Polish news agency said the Polish Government stand on U.S. policy was clearly expounded in a note of last November 3 and the assessments it contained are still topical. The Polish public is entitled to a full reply to this note, especially the lifting of the illegal sanctions declared against Poland by the U.S. Administration and under its pressure by some other Western countries. These are primarily restoration of normal tariffs in trade relations and normalization of financial and credit relations. These sanctions were the heaviest blow for the Polish people and caused losses to the Polish national economy now amounting to 13,000 million dollars.

The Polish public expects unconditional lifting of the illegal sanctions and coverage of these material and moral losses by the United States, the Polish news agency pointed out.

WEST SUPPORTS EMIGRES' CAMPAIGN OF UNREST, ALARM

AU011200 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Jul 84 p 7

[Zdenek Porybny commentary in the "Foreign-Political Notes" column: "The People Concerned Are Keeping Silent"]

[Text] Last Thursday [26 July] our communications media published a report about the various anti-Czechoslovak emigre organizations in the West doing everything possible to prevent the release of Czechoslovak citizens who are being detained in Angola by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. Jiri Pelikan, one of the loudest emigre activists, not only asked the UNITA representatives on several occasions not to release our citizens, he even requested that they be shot outright! The new revelations about the true face of this "fighter for socialism with a human face" evokes justified indignation and anger among all decent people. They show that the enemies of socialism do not shrink from anything in their attempts to produce unrest and spread alarm in our society. The anti-Czechoslovak emigres clubs and those who are financing them have, in fact, been counting very firmly on the killing of our fellow citizens deeply affecting our public; they want to make use of this for their own political aims.

After all, this is not the only such case. Recently certain Western communications media unleashed a campaign of lies about the alleged formation of a "new church" in the CSSR. In this case, too, the authors of the slander pursued a very specific political goal -- namely, to evoke unrest among those Czechoslovak citizens who are believers. Although the slanders were immediately disproved, those who had launched them have not mentioned a single word about this; they are pretending that this does not concern them at all.

Western communications media, which have devoted pages and pages and many minutes to a campaign in favor of Pelikan and Co., are now suddenly keeping silent in solidarity.

The reporters, who at other times are so prompt in launching numerous anti-Czechoslovak canards into the world in their quest for sensations, are now blind, deaf, and dumb. What would their reaction have been a few years ago had somebody in the CSSR advised the Italian kidnappers of Prime Minister Aldo Moro not to release him, but rather to shoot him? What a unique sensation that would have caused! What moral condemnation this would have produced! But since it is now the Czechoslovak emigres who are suggesting the shooting of people who are loyal to their socialist fatherland, this is probably all right....

The Italian Socialist Party which sneaked Pelikan in on its list of candidates for the so-called European Parliament, should give thought to who it is dealing with here. Italy has more than enough unlucky experience with those who organize terror and who call for murder. Or do the Italian Socialists apply one set of criteria to those who are calling for the assassination of kidnapped CSSR citizens and another set to terrorists who murder their own kidnapped fellow citizens?

CP'S ROLE AS REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD DEFINED

AU042004 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 2 August carries on page 1 a 1,600-word editorial, entitled "The Revolutionary Vanguard." After noting that the socialist society can be built solely on the basis of "the existence of a party that is cemented, organizationally and ideologically, on Marxist-Leninist principles, "a party whose aims and program are formulated very clearly both for the sphere of domestic and that of foreign policy, the editorial points out that "the failure to respect the leading role" of such a party "in all phases of basic revolutionary social changes" has always "lead to critical phenomena and to deformations of the very substance of socialism." "That is why it is no coincidence that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party's leading role is like a thorn in the side of right-wing revisionist," the editorial continues.

The editorial then traces the development of the party's role as the vanguard of the workers class in the CSSR and in its task of "satisfying the general social interests and goals in strict dialectic unity with the satisfaction of the interests and needs of individuals."

"In the current phase of building the developed socialist society," the editorial continues, "the party's role in directing and influencing the dynamics of social, and particularly economic, processes has grown." However, the editorial adds, "the party's leading role must not be understood as implying that party organizations should take over the duties of economic or state management. Neither can it be understood as implying that the party organizations should fulfill the function of merely some kind of 'consultative body' of these managements. Despite this, we can still encounter in practice certain authoritative executive staffs who underrate the collective common sense of party organizations and who sometimes understand the role of party organizations in a narrow, nonconscious manner." These people, the editorial states, verbally recognize the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, intraparty democracy, scientific and collective political approach, and criticism and self-criticism, while in practice often deforming and violating them, and implementing their own subjectivist, individualist viewpoints.

The causes of this lie, according to the editorial, not in the individuals' characters, but in the shortcomings of party work -- in the work of Communists and of the committees of party organizations in working places. The Communists' personal responsibility for a consistent realization of party resolutions and directives must be raised, the editorial stresses, and the "party bodies and organizations should consistently guard the political, organizational and ideological unity of their ranks and create scope for the development of intraparty democracy and creative initiative, and scope for constructive criticism and self-criticism."

The battle for realizing the party's policy under current conditions, the editorial states, "requires a truly creative, informal, and particularly responsible and disciplined approach." From the moment it takes over political power, the Communist party is the only one to "determine the tenor and rhythm of the work" undertaken by all social organizations, enterprises, and institutions. "It is the party which supports and develops the working people's initiative," and the "Communists must participate in shaping the conviction and opinions of all members of the socialist society," the editorial points out.

It continues: "The Communists realize that the task of a vanguard of the working people, that of the leading force of the socialist society, can be fulfilled only if the party is built as a detachment of revolutionary action, if it is ideologically firmly cemented, if it is permanently active and closely bound to the workers class and to the entire international communist movement. In this context the party bodies and organizations are required to responsibly approach the tasks in one of the most significant spheres in the party's life -- in the development and improvement of the quality of the party's membership base. Under the conditions of developed socialism," the editorial continues, the party must "rally the best of the best: people with crystallized ideas, who are professionally mature and both willing to, and capable of, consistently pushing through the party's policy in a creative manner, without formalism and stereotype." This, the editorial adds, requires demanding criteria in the selection of party members, and also consistent qualitative viewpoints on the party's entire ideoeducational work.

The party's vanguard role, the editorial continues, requires firm and constantly reproduced ties with the masses, and the systematic deepening of direct contacts between party functionaries, members of elected bodies, and leading economic staff on the one hand and the working collectives on the other. This makes it possible to efficiently channel the working people's interest in task fulfillment; to explain the topical issues of domestic and foreign political life; and immediately and efficiently to react to problems and unclear issues.

The editorial concludes by quoting from the documents of the 16th CPCZ Congress on the care that must be devoted to the party as the people's vanguard.

LIVING STANDARD RISES IN FIRST HALF OF 1984

LD031114 Prague CTK in English 1038 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Prague Aug 3 (CTK) -- Czechoslovakia's national resources created in the first half of 1984 made it possible to raise the living standard and strengthen the social certainties of the population. Compared with the first half of 1983, the overall monetary incomes of the population rose by 2.7 per cent and wages by 2.8 per cent. The average monthly wage in the socialist sector was 2,785 crowns. In the same period, 25,100 million crowns were paid in pensions and 14,900 million in sickness benefits.

The retail turnover was by 3.7 per cent higher than in the first six months of 1983 and amounted to 132,700 million crowns. Consumer goods accounted for 52.7 per cent of this amount.

Food supplies were steady throughout the period, supplies of meat and meat products, dairy products, fruit and vegetables were higher. Demand was not satisfied only in the assortment of some types of textile, clothing and footwear. The quality of services improved.

As many as 32,000 apartments were completed in the first half of 1984. The number of beds in medical facilities rose to 192,900, and the number of 284 patients per one physician was by six lower than last year.

POLAND DEMANDS NORMALIZATION OF U.S. RELATIONS

LD032008 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Poland has demanded full normalization of relations with the United States. The news agency PAP reports today that while Washington has lifted certain restrictions, it has made further actions dependent on political conditions, which in effect amount to interference in the sovereign decisions of the Polish Government. The restrictions inflicted around $13 billion damage on the Polish people and their economy. Poland demanded the unconditional lifting of illegal practices and compensation for the material and moral losses caused by the United States. A comprehensive regulation of relations must include the establishment of normal conditions, subject to customs laws, in trade relations and normalization of the sphere of finances and loans. According to PAP, the United States has declared its intention of resuming full scientific exchanges, granting landing rights again to LOT under certain conditions and withdrawing the U.S. veto against Poland's membership in the IMF.

SCHUERER HOLDS ECONOMIC TALKS WITH USSR OFFICIAL

LD041903 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1509 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] Berlin, 4 Aug (ADN) -- Gerhard Schuerer, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member, GDR deputy premier, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, today received Nikolay Inozemtsev, a deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Commission, who is visiting the GDR for economic consultations. The two men underlined that the results of the meeting between Erich Honecker and Konstantin Chernenko, and the June CEMA economic summit held in Moscow had opened up far-reaching new prospects for cooperation among the CEMA countries. The development and deepening of socialist economic integration and the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the CEMA member-states had decisive importance, especially in the present aggravated international situation, for efforts to preserve peace, strengthen socialism and further improve the living standards of the allied peoples.

The measures adopted jointly in Moscow had also created fundamental preconditions for the coordination of the economic plans of the GDR and the USSR for the period 1986-90, Schuerer and Inozemtsev stated. In complete accord with all major issues related to the further continuous development of the economic and scientific-technological relations between the two countries until 1990 and beyond, it is important to significantly deepen the division of labor and cooperation in all spheres of material production. In this connection, utmost attention must be given to speeding up scientific-technological progress and its consistent application as the key issue of the comprehensive intensification and efficiency of the economy. Schuerer informed his guest that the GDR state and party leadership has adopted measures aimed at realizing the decisions of the CEMA economic summit on extending and deepening cooperation with the Soviet union and the other member-states in all spheres of the economy and social life. In this way the GDR will make a continual active contribution to the strengthening of the socialist community and thus to the safeguarding and strengthening of peace. Inozemtsev praised the high level of economic relations between the two countries, which are undergoing a continual and constructive development on the broad basis of intensive contacts among enterprises, combines, ministries and other economic management bodies of the USSR and the GDR.

During their meeting, which was marked by an open, warm atmosphere and fraternal agreement, the great responsibility of the central state planning bodies for the coordination of the plans for the development of the economies of the GDR and the USSR in the period 1986-90 was underlined. The two sides agreed on concrete steps for the further implementation of the required tasks.

DEVELOPMENT OF FRG-GDR TIES RECEIVES ENDORSEMENT

LD032021 Hamburg DPA in German 1925 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Budapest, 3 Aug (DPA) -- In contrast to official (?Hungarian) media, the Hungarian political weekly MAGYARORSZAG has emphatically endorsed the latest development in relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR. The unofficial mouthpiece of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry recalled in its latest edition the important role the small European countries have in the process of detente. MAGYARORSZAG says the GDR has demonstrated by its actions over the past few months that the small states have to do everything in order to continue the era of detente. Hence the considerable deterioration of the international atmosphere has not been passively accepted. Jenoe Bochkor, Berlin correspondent of the weekly, quotes expressly the "community of responsibility" of the two German states, a term used by GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker. Therefore, Bonn and East Berlin have the duty "to do everything in accordance with the Basic Treaty signed in 1973 in order to overcome any obstacles on the path of good-neighborly relations." MAGYARORSZAG calls strengthening of the German-German dialogue "a visible result of the resourceful role of the GDR," according to which a new scope for a new start must be sought following the deployment of new missiles in the Federal Republic. "This call also meets in part the intentions of Bonn, and therefore both German states intend to help with unshakable facts to see that the cause of cooperation in the heart of Europe is being enriched through the creation of a peaceful zone." The Budapest journal indirectly rejects the Moscow-implied political influencing by Bonn of East Berlin in connection with the latest bank credit, and says the GDR would not entertain any such deals. "Such financial agreements bring benefits to both sides and are not dependent on settling other, still open questions." The paper expresses the hope that the planned Honecker visit to the Federal Republic "will help the idea of peaceful coexistence to succeed."

EASING OF POLISH SANCTIONS TERMED NOTEWORTHY

LD031807 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 3 Aug 84

[By MTI commentator Zsolt Zsebesi]

[Text] Budapest, August 3 (MTI) -- The U.S. charge d'affairs' recent statement in Warsaw on that further American sanctions against Poland would be lifted is a noteworthy development in U.S.-Polish relations which cooled in 1981. The decision, the diplomat said, is a sign of admittance of the favourable effect amnesty can exert on people. The statement is official admittance that the U.S.-led economic, political and propaganda campaign of the West has proved ineffective: It could not halt consolidation in the economy and internal politics of Poland. The U.S. Government is attempting to conceal the fact that it was specifically against American intentions that the economic, social and political consolidationin Poland could reach such a level for amnesty to be granted to people who only less than two years ago joined against the socialist system. Polish opinion is stable and is unlikely to change. Washington unconditionally has to settle the relation it unilaterally and groundlessly damaged, by fully terminating the sanctions and by respecting the sovereignty and internal affairs of Poland. The sober policy is also desired by the majority of the Western countries. A complete halt of anti-Polish American and Western European sanctions would, naturally, be a positive contribution to the final overcoming of Poland's internal, mainly economic problems. Fully overcoming the difficulties is the concern of the Polish people and greatly depends on whether people now released from the consequences of the politically motivated crimes with an extensive amnesty have learned from the historical lesson, whether they can live with wisdom with the humanitarian gesture of the socialist state.

U.S. OFFICIALLY CONFIRMS LIFTING OF SANCTIONS

LD040827 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] Washington -- A White House spokesman has officially confirmed earlier reports that President Reagan has waived certain sanctions against our country. The two most damaging sanctions remain in force: refusal to grant new credits and withdrawal of a normal customs status.

REAGAN STILL 'USURPS RIGHT TO INTERFERE'

LD041745 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan's press spokesman has announced that the head of the White House has decided to restore air links with Poland as well as scientific exchange between the United States and Poland. At the same time, the spokesman stated, the President made U.S. consent to Poland's joining the IMF and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development dependent on the implementation of the Amnesty Act in Poland.

Seeing the Amnesty Act as being a significant step made by the Polish Government in the direction of national accord, President Reagan still usurps the right to interfere in Polish internal affairs, tries to pass verdicts on Polish internal affairs, and makes his own assessments of and classifies events in Poland according to the internal and external interests of the U.S. Administration. U.S. commentators point out that the lifting of further restrictions of lesser importance by the President will have no direct or indirect influence on the improvement of the socioeconomic situation in Poland, although it does represent a certain step forward in the normalization of Polish-U.S. relations.

SANCTIONS HARM ALL AREAS OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC LIFE

LD041158 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw, August 3 -- Thirteen billion dollars: This is the result of reliable, although certainly incomplete estimates of the aftermath of the American economic restrictions towards Poland. If one speaks of incomplete data, it only means that it is impossible for all items to be reflected in statistical or numerical terms, or to be precisely documented.

The U.S. hostile moves brought losses to virtually all spheres of Poland's economic and social life. A freeze on normal financial and credit relations and obstacles to exports and -- subsequently -- to imports curtailed possibilities for a more effective and quick emergence from the economic difficulties. The same applies to possibilities for a more active and effective use of foreign trade as means of increasing national income and upgrading the effectiveness of management.

The impossibility to make full use of the production potential because of abnormal relations with some one-time significant trading partners has also an obvious influence on the volume of production and national income. However, it is not economy as a conglomerate of enterprises, farms, trade and service units, but economy as an instrument of satisfying the nation's needs that sustains losses. The creators of the policy of restrictions and blackmail refused to admit that. However, the interdependence is too clear for one to insist too long in denying its being logical. That is why the U.S. President had to admit eventually that the restrictions hit out at the Polish nation.

The volume of losses is measured by the Polish citizen in terms of zlotys and difficulties he has to face each day. Those difficulties are largely due to U.S. actions, to moves stemming from a purely political background which is not being denied.

Fortunately, the economic weapon in the hands of the U.S. President has a limited extent, and is not effective enough to induce total destruction of Poland's economy. Thanks to Poland's own efforts, thanks to cooperation with the Soviet Union and other partners from the socialist community, this proved impossible, although the losses are grave. The latter are a fact over which one cannot pass in silence.

Development Hindered

LD041803 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] PAP writes that the repertoire of restrictions the United States uses to blackmail Poland is very extensive. Not all the restrictions are as painful as some, but each one has resulted in very serious losses to our economy, its individual branches and, in consequence, to our society.

As a result of the American restrictions, room for maneuver has been narrowed, while opportunities for quickly removing the impediments to be encountered along the path of expansion and development have dwindled. Poland's debt to the capitalist countries at the end of 1983 amounted to approximately $26.4 billion.

If anyone should harbor doubts about the U.S. Government's intentions with regard to our country -- intentions which are not concealed -- then Poland's debt, combined with the financial and credits blockade, remove any unclear thinking of this kind.

PAP states that a maximal weakening of the Polish economy is a strategic target of U.S. policy. It is obvious that measures such as the ban on landing rights for Polish planes in the United States, the removal of our fishing fleet from American waters, or the halting of scientific exchange, affect, in particular, the humanities, and do result in losses, but, on the other hand these measures do not pose a threat to the foundations of our economy.

PAP emphasizes that the financial and credits blockade is dangerous and harmful. In 1981 our credit purchases from the United States amounted to approximately 90 percent; from Canada, 97 percent; and from Great Britain, 71 percent. For the first two states mentioned, these figures became zero in 1983, and in the case of Great Britain, the figure went down to 6 percent. There was thus a very pronounced curtailment of our import potential. Settling bills in cash has become the main method of payment for purchases in Western countries. This means that hard currency resources have to be frozen for many weeks.

The financial and credits blockade has resulted in worsening supplies of essential materials to industry and agriculture. This is reflected in the people's living standards and also makes it impossible to attain fast improvement in the economy. Barriers have also been created for Polish exports in the form of taking away our most favored nation status in trade relations with the United States. It is therefore not surprising that the recent declarations emanating from Washington pass over in silence the issue of restoring normal financial, credit, and trade relations with Poland. The losses sustained by Poland amount to approximately $13 billion, one half of our debt to Western banks.

WESTERN RESTRICTIONS REPRESENT ILLEGAL POLICY

AU011055 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jul 84 p 1

[Jerzy Lobman commentary: "The Illegality Is Continuing"]

[Text] It emerges from the Western press that the subject of the sanctions against Poland has revived in some capitals. The revival does not at all mean that the policy of brutal pressure and blackmail and of interference in our domestic affairs is undergoing some general revision. This is confirmed by the 24 July edition of the Paris LE MONDE, which admits in an article that is indisposed toward Poland that the United States "intends" to ease the sanctions in "secondary spheres."

In other words, the political contest commenced on the threshold of 1981-82 is being continued in an unchanged form -- a contest with a purpose of, as the 3 November 1983 Polish note to the United States says, "enhancing economic difficulties, sowing social tension, and hampering efforts to build national accord and implement the sociopolitical and economic reforms which have been undertaken on a wide scale in Poland." All this is an attempt to "impose political conditions on the PPR Government" and is a violation of our state's sovereignty.

In such a situation, a few basic truths ought to be repeated:

1) Such a policy by the United States and some Western states has been and still is being carried out by violating the basic principles of international coexistence and numerous basic documents concerned with this sphere. Article 1, Paragraph 2 of the UN Charter; Rules 1, 6, and 9 of the CSCE Final Act; the GATT Agreement; Resolution No 37/249 of the UN General Assembly; numerous agreements between Poland and the United States; and the joint declaration by our countries of 9 October 1974 are just a few of these documents. It is therefore an illegal policy that is currently being applied toward Poland by the United States and other Western countries, a policy whereby international agreements are treated as "worthless scraps of paper." This policy has an infamous precedent when one considers the recent history of Europe. But history also shows that such a policy does not lead to the goals desired by its authors. Its final results harm the very authors themselves.

2) The above policy by the United States and the West has not achieved its planned, global aim. As Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said in his last Sejm speech: "We have survived the economic blackmail, thanks mainly to the patriotic and devoted attitudes of our country's working people," as well as thanks to the Soviet Union's fraternal aid, and the kindness of our socialist allies.

3) Although the primary goal of the sanctions has not been achieved, the sanctions policy has still caused Poland serious harm. The huge damage figure of $13 billion which has been quoted recently (a figure which is still growing, by the way) is half of our country's total debts. The difficulties caused by the restrictions are troubling the entire Polish people. Even President Reagan has had to admit this after 2 and 1/2 years. The above figure is no longer accurate because it is impossible to give a zloty or dollar value to the various indirect losses in other spheres such as health care, education, culture, and so on. It stems from all this that besides being burdened with heavy debts which Poland has never been unwilling to repay, we are also creditors. We also have our own bills to present.

In this context and in connection with the renewed interest in the sanctions mentioned at the beginning, the following statement in the 3 November 1983 Polish note also remains valid: "The partial steps which have been taken and which are only superficial activity meant to disguise the real need to relinquish the sanctions policy, which the U.S. Government continues to regard as an excuse to interfere in Poland's domestic affairs and in particular as an instrument of diktat in issues concerning the Polish legal order, cannot by any means be regarded as sufficient. Such diktat has been, is being, and will be firmly rejected." We demand an unconditional and immediate "end to all restrictions and other hostile moves and an end to all efforts to interfere in our country's domestic affairs, including propaganda aggression." Regardless of this, the question remains of dealing with the losses suffered by our country at the appropriate level and creating suitable conditions for making good these losses and facilitating the repayment of our debts.

The demand for an end to pressure and blackmail against Poland is, of course, dictated by our basic national interests. The demand also stems from the fundamental principles of international law. In this sense, our demand is not merely caused by a justified feeling of self-defense, but is also part of the struggle to build international relations based on justice and mutual respect, a struggle for an honest world order.

URBAN VIEWS U.S. LIFTING OF SANCTIONS, POLICY

LD032303 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Aug (PAP) -- In the course of a meeting with the collective of the Polish AGENCY INTERPRESS, Jerzy Urban touched upon Polish-American relations and shared his observations on the subject of U.S. Government policies relating to Poland, emphasizing at the same time that his views cannot be viewed as a government press spokesman statement or as an expression of the Polish Government's position.

President Reagan, J. Urban said, strove hard to find a method of hurting the Polish leadership without simultaneously giving rise to public indignation in Poland over American policies. However, he failed to devise restrictions that would harm only the (?government). He has admitted this.

What is the conclusion from this? There are no matters, spheres of activity, or aims of the Polish leadership which are separated from the social interests of the Poles. Contrary to the ideas expounded by the American Government, the President was forced to admit that it was impossible to harm the Government of Poland without at the same time harming the Polish nation.

The Polish Government has never asked for the restrictions to be lifted, J. Urban said. We demand and expect all the restrictions, which are illegal, to be lifted. The policy of restrictions is causing a fiasco. We demand that all restrictions be lifted without any conditions whatsoever and that interference in Polish internal affairs, particularly propaganda aggression, be stopped. We remind the United States of the Polish society's right to compensation for the damage caused as a result of the restrictions.

The position that has now been proclaimed by the U.S. Government, J. Urban continued, signifies neither a departure from all restrictions nor a renunciation of interference in our internal affairs. The ban on the granting of credits to Poland remains in force. The banon the granting of credits to Poland remains in force. A normal customs status will not be restored.

The United States predicts that it will depart from certain substantial restrictions, and may in the future, among other things, abandon its opposition to Poland's acceptance into the IMF. On this subject, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu said recently: "The IMF has not observed all its obligations, and unacceptable conditions were proposed, too." It is therefore difficult to demand, the speaker noted, that we be delighted by this statement.

The U.S. Government on one hand says that relations between our states will depend on whether people committing crimes against the state and social order will be jailed, while on the other it encourages its friends in Poland to commit acts contrary to the law and applauds them for breaking it. If the U.S. Government does not want us to have people confined for political reasons, let it not urge people to take such action, and let it not put pressure in that direction; for behind Washington's regret for the consequences of the actions, to which the same Washington is urging people (?by the whole) force of its policy and propaganda, hide great lies and hypocrisy.

FRG OFFICIALS' STATEMENTS REVEAL POLICY CHANGE

LD031454 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 3 -- "Statements made by representatives of the present FRG Government on issues of interest to Poland might be published now in a form of a considerable volume of documents, of something like a 'white book' on the relations between the FRG and Poland," Professor Antoni Czubinski, head of the Poznan-based Western Institute, has told PAP. "The statements have a double face -- on one hand, they assure the world of 'pacta sunt servanda', of the fact that the new government continues the Eastern policy started by Brandt and Schell and that nothing has changed in this respect. On the other hand, we can hear statements, by the cabinet members that the German Reich still exists within its 1937-borders, that Poland's western border approved by the FRG in the treaty of December 7, 1970 is still a temporary demarcation line and that there is a large German minority in Poland," said he.

"West German ministers demand 'special rights' for this minority. Thus, it is a completely new quality in relation to what had been implemented by the previous government of social democrats and liberals," stressed Professor Czubinski.

"During that government's rule we met with revanchist statements by private people who did not represent the cabinet. Today, such statements are made by officials and cabinet members. Hence, one can hardly agree that nothing has changed in the FRG policy, that the new government both continues the Eastern policy oursued by the previous team and implements the policy of respecting the treaties," concluded Professor Czubinski.

U.S. REACTIONS TO OLYMPICS RAISE QUESTIONS

AU031245 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Poland 1 Aug 84 p 8

[Zygmunt Broniarek commentary: "If the United States Wins..."]

[Excerpts] By observing the reactions of a great portion of U.S. society to the XXIII Olympics, especially the way they are presented on television, one gets the impression that there are some very influential circles in the United States that were interested in ensuring that the competitors from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries did not come to Los Angeles for reasons that include athletic reasons.

I am aware of the seriousness of this statement and am not applying it to all the members of the organizing committee or the many U.S. athletes or fans. But, in light of certain facts, it is difficult to believe the assurances, for example, of the Los Angeles local authorities, that not only was there no "conspiracy" to prevent athletes from socialist countries from coming to the games, but that there was a "conspiracy" from them to come.

This is because the majority of Americans are wallowing in the joy, which often verges on hysteria, that "finally" they have an open court on which to collect the "rain of golds," and that no one stands in the way of their being first.

However, one of the organizing committee's volunteer workers, who is, after all, a Reagan supporter and approves of the U.S. public's attitude to U.S. victories, said, "Yes! There are chauvinistic tones in the reactions of our public."

The issue of assuring security to the athletes of the USSR and other socialist countries arose on Monday [30 July] during the joint press conference held by Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and Sarajevo (the place of the last winter Olympics) Mayor U. Uzelac. One of the journalists said the following: "At the Moscow Olympics, Brezhnev spoke from an open place, and everyone could see him. But at the Los Angeles Coliseum, President Reagan was in a press box that had bullet-proof windows, and he was, in effect, only seen on a huge television screen in the stadium. Is this not proof of the fears about the state of security at Los Angeles?"

Mayor Bradley replied that the decision on this matter rested with the Secret Service [last two words given in English] (the President's bodyguard), and that he was not the one to comment on this.

This was in itself a commentary, especially in the light of the deed performed by the madman who deliberately drove his car into a crowd of people in the suburb of Westwood, killing 3 people and injuring 17. Mayor Bradley said that he does not connect this with the Olympics. However, in journalistic circles here, it is stressed that this action could have been a result of the general atmosphere in southern California.

[Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 31 July on page 7 carries a 250-word PAP report from Bonn entitled "The Opening of the Olympics Was an Occasion To Affront the GDR," which adds: "The Bonn authorities even took advantage of the opening day of the Olympics to stage a political demonstration, and one which had an unequivocally expansionistic expression at that." This, according to DPA, PAP reports, was done by FRG Foreign Affairs Minister Genscher in asking the Olympic authorities to "treat the FRG as the official representative of Germany." This, PAP concludes, is "an evident affront to the other German state, to whom Bonn gives assurances of its best intentions."]

IRANIAN TRADE DELEGATION DISCUSSES COOPERATION

LD041921 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] Polish-Iranian economic talks were held 2-4 August in Warsaw. During plenary debates and meetings of working teams, issues connected with the present state of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries were discussed. Development of production cooperation was considered particularly important, this will include production by Iranian firms of machinery and installations based on Polish technology.

Both sides agreed that the present level of trade exchange does not correspond with the existing capabilities or demand of both countries. Efforts will be made to considerably increase mutual deliveries of goods.

During his stay in Poland, the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran delegation, Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade (Mojtaba Khosrow-Taj) was received by Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski, and visited the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Agriculture and Food Economy, and Communications. The Polish delegation was led by Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Ryszard Strzelecki.

BELGIAN COMMUNIST LEADER VISITS, MEETS CZYREK

LD040155 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Aug (PAP) -- At the invitation of the PZPR Central Commictee Jan Debrouwer, member of the Politburo and secretary of Belgian Communist Party Central Committee, visited Poland between 25 July and 3 August. The Belgian guest held talks with Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of PZPR Central Committee, and Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Central Committee Ideological Department, at the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth National Council and the Office of the Council of Ministers. He also visited Opole and Wroclaw.

In the course of the talks and meetings, which took place in a sincere and open atmosphere, an exchange of information on the situation in the two countries and, in this context, the two parties' activities took place. Anxiety was expressed over the threat to peace, which is increasing as a result of imperialism's confrontationist policies. Both sides expressed interest in further developing contacts between the PZPR and the Belgian Communist Party.

KOR, SOLIDARITY MEMBERS RELEASED FROM PRISON

NC041624 Paris AFP in English 1618 GMT 4 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 4 (AFP) -- A leader of the Social Self-Defence Committee (KOR), Adam Michnik, 37, and one of seven jailed leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union, Severyn Jaworski, 53, have both been released from Rakowiecka prison here, reliable sources said.

Mr. Michnik was one of four KOR leaders whose trial was adjourned indefinitely just before the July 21 Amnesty Law was passed.

KPN President Freed

NC052104 Paris AFP in English 2059 GMT 5 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 5 (AFP) -- Leszek Moczulski, 52-year-old founder and president of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), has been released from Barczemo prison under the recent amnesty, reliable sources said here today.

Mr. Moczulski, who describes the KPN as "the first independent opposition political party in Poland," was convicted of "plotting against the state" and sentenced in October 1982 to seven years in prison.

He had been in jail since September 1980.

FORMER SOLIDARITY LEADER ON REBUILDING UNION

NC031604 Paris AFP in English 1559 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Wroclaw, Poland, Aug 3 (AFP) -- Former leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union should come out from underground and rebuild the union, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, said here today, a week after his release from prison under an amnesty.

"The moment has come with the release of the confirmed activists to organise an open leadership, a real leadership which everyone can contact," Mr Frasyniuk, former Solidarity chief for the Wroclaw region in southern Poland said in an interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here.

"That is all that is needed to mobilise people in the factories," he added.

Mr Frasyniuk, 31, who spent one-and-a half years in Poland's toughest prison at Barczewo and one year underground, has already secretly met Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the TKK, [Provisional Coordinating Committee] the clandestine solidarity leadership.

He said he would shortly meet former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, to study "the form of possible action." A summit of all freed former Solidarity leaders could take place in September.

"Such a meeting has to be held," Mr Frasyniuk said: "We have to speak to the workers in the factories and to the intellectuals."

Poles had found a new political maturity since the declaration of martial law in December, 1981, he said. "The Poles have begun to understand the rules of the game. They have learnt to act, taking fewer risks. They are no longer afraid."

"In this region (Lower Silesia) martial law united the people. There is now a new maturity, a cold, calculated courage," he said.

"Everyone I have seen in the past week, in several factories, including my former public transport firm, are waiting for a leadership to act.

"They beleive that with the amnesty releases we are back on the right track. They even go a little too far. They think everything will come now," he said.

Solidarity supporters have apparently been demonstrating much of the maturity referred to by Mr Frasyniuk since the amnesty. Rallies have been carefully organised to avoid any clashes, particularly in Wroclaw, where police turned out in force last night as Mr Frasyniuk was acclaimed by crowds and a mass was said for him.

As to whether the new leadership would use the name of Solidarity, forbidden since 1981, Mr Frasyniuk said, "We are not going to make an issue about the name."

"If there is Lech Walesa, Frasyniuk and Andrzej Slowik (former leader of the union in Lodz), people will know very well who they are dealing with."

Jaworski's Comments

NC051323 Paris AFP in English 1315 GMT 5 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 5 (AFP) -- A restoration of Solidarity is the only way of resolving Poland's problems, according to the former vice-president of the banned trade union for the Warsaw region, Seweryn Jaworski, freed on Friday after two-and-a half-years in jail.

With Adam Michnik, released yesterday, Mr Jaworski was one of 11 opposition leaders facing a charge of "plotting against the state" and being held at Rakowiecka prison here.

Also like Mr Michnik he refused to sign a release form warning of an annulment of the amnesty in case of a further offence.

"I hope that among those in power some will end up by understanding" the need to restore Solidarity he told AFP.

The amnesty had been "an escape route for the government, practically forced to free us knowing that a longer detention would have a bad effect on the population," he said. "In addition the authorities were aware that they would find it impossible to prove the accusations made against us at a trial."

Mr Jaworski added that "meetings of union activists would certainly be useful" and that they "would take place with Lech Walesa," the Solidarity leader.

COURTS CONTINUE IMPLEMENTATING AMNESTY IN 2D WEEK

LD031852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] The second week of the implementation of the Amnesty Act is coming to an end. Today's court decisions regarding the amnesty have encompassed 7,682 persons. Sentences of imprisonment were remitted in cases of 1,788 persons.

URBAN ON WESTERN PRESS, AMNESTY, CHURCH, FRG

AU031037 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1 Aug 84 pp 1, 6

[Report signed "B. Dr.": "The Government Spokesman's Press Conference"; persons submitting questions not identified]

[Text] On 31 July the government spokesman held another press conference for foreign and Polish journalists. Minister Urban cited various statements on Poland published in the Western press and said that these statements were "invariably startling and frequently comical, and at odds with truth and logic."

For example, in connection with the future tasks of the Church Fund, the FRG's DIE WELT wrote about "a more than tense sociopolitical situation in the Polish rural areas and about the rural organizations and institutions mutually finishing themselves off." DIE WELT did not state the nature of that tension or the names of those organizations and institutions, J. Urban said, adding that such nonsense creates a false image of Poland.

Mr Nielsen wrote in the Danish JYLLANDS POSTEN about his taxi trip to visit an acquaintance in Gdansk. The taxi driver was in a great hurry to reach the address given to him before the curfew, and Mr Nielsen described this stupidity as the "Poles' rooted fear of the militia night patrols."

Another Danish publication, BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, published an astounding report to show that the present amnesty will have deprived the freedom fighters of 5 years of their lives because martial law will we formally in force till the end of 1986. "This is errant nonsense," J. Urban said.

The French weekly L'EXPRESS wrote on the occasion of the amnesty that not the penal proceedings, but the political system in Poland should be quashed.

"Whenever we have accused people committing political crimes of wanting to overthrow our system, the Western press has always denied such allegations, but now some Western mass media, including the French media, openly express their wish that the Polish system be changed."

The U.S. press, including THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR and THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, continues to publish the view that most Poles support U.S. restrictions. "These are utterly false, illogical, and irresponsible statements," J. Urban said. "In fact, only a very samll segment of the most ferocious opponents of our syatem continues to support the U.S. restrictions in glaring defiance of Polish public opinion."

The French AFP Agency published a false report that Reverends Jankowski and Popieluszko, as well as Solidarity activists and sympathizers, "who were assessed as common criminals," had been excepted from the amnesty. "Does this represent a suggestion that all the criminals who declare themselves as Solidarity sympathizers should be amnestied?" J. Urban asked. AFP also reported that "the authorities are trying to induce the amnestied people to become informers." "This is also untrue. A person's duty to reveal the crucial circumstances of his political crime does not mean that the interests of other people are prejudiced," J. Ubran said.

Next, he answered questions from the floor.

[Question] How many people accused of political offenses are not entitled to be amnestied?

[Urban] I know of two persons who have been accused of political crimes and who are not entitled to be amnestied. They are Lis and Mierzewski, who have been charged under Article 122.

It is not we who have created the category of political crimes. This category is vague because political motives are difficult to define and because various crimes can be committed for political reasons. You can kill a man for political reasons, and in many countries banks are ransacked for these reasons. It is interesting that in the West political prisoners are spoken of differently than in our country. In the West persons are accused of disturbing the peace, of insulting behavior toward functionaries, and of offenses against the authorities. Those are the terms the Western press uses when reporting on affairs in its own countries. The category of political motives is inexact, and that is why it is always possible to assert that a person convicted of a common crime, not subject to the amnesty, acted for political reasons.

[Question] How many political prisoners have been amnestied and released?

[Urban] According to PAP the 14,488 persons released up to last Monday [30 July] included 450 perpetrators of political crimes.

[Question] How many persons have come forward under the terms of the amnesty?

[Urban] Eleven persons engaged in illegal political activities have come forward to avail themslves of the amnesty.

[Question] Have there been any public polls on the amnesty?

[Urban] ZYCIE WARSZAWY on 28/29 July carried the results of a public poll on the amnesty just before it came into force.

The results of that poll indicated that the public strongly supported the amnesty and its predicted effects. The results also indicated some doubts and fears of the public, as is usual in the case of every amnesty. A large segment of the public voiced reservations as to releasing the main perpetrators of political crimes. Doubts were also voiced as to releasing common criminals. We have already explained that the amnesty was designed in such a way as not to threaten public law and order and not to apply to the perpetrators of the most dangerous crimes and to recidivists.

[Question] Why have the Warsaw authorities suspended the activity of the Committee for Building the Monument to the Warsaw Uprising? Why has there been a dispute about the name of the monument?

[Urban] The Warsaw authorities' decision was a result of quarrels within the committee and of the resulting inability to cooperate with the authorities. A new committee has been appointed, and it is pursuing the goals stipulated by the people. The name of "The Monument to the Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising" is not controversial. Everyone supports it because it pays homage to the heroism of the Warsaw insurgents. At the same time, there is no reason why a monument should be erected to the political idea and intentions that were behind the decision to launch the uprising. This is a crucial and comprehensible distinction. The quarrel about the name of the monument is not a public quarrel. It is a petty incident attesting to the fact that the small groups that oppose our system are ready to exploit every occasion, including the anniversary of that tragic uprising, to fan political disputes, to make mischief, and to aggravate things.

[Question] Have the authorities come to terms with the masses that have recently been read for the fatherland?

[Urban] Please do not confuse a mass read for any reason at all with the performance of a political club in which actions are encouraged against the state, the political emotions of those present are incited, and priests speak in defense of an accomplice of murderers. I have in mind the appeal to free Reverend Zych, who was sentenced for participation in a criminal gang, for illegaly keeping weapons, and contacts with the murderers of Sergeant Karos. I wish to state that the performance of such a political club enjoying the status of a temple represents the same abuse as that perpetrated by hoisting the banner of the Red Cross over a missile pad.

[Question] Where is Frasyniuk?

[Urban] Persons at large are where they like to be. Please ask this question of an address bureau.

[Question] Yesterday's TRYBUNA LUDU speaks of "political gamesters" in the context of trade union pluralism. Do you agree with this view?

[Urban] The government's views on this issue are adequately presented by a passage from the Politburo report to the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which was delivered by Jozef Czyrek. Let me cite this passage: "There will be no return to dividing the workers class into opposing sociopolitical forces combating one another. The attempts to foist on us the concepts and proposals -- of motley authorship -- that are in conflict with that assumption are merely a speculation that cannot be treated seriously. This chapter of experience has been definitely closed."

Our political life is characterized by multifaceted opinions and differing views of the world. We do not speak of unity; we speak of agreement. Various views are aired within the limits of the Constitution, and platforms for such views have been created by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the new trade unions, and so on.

In conclusion J. Urban made a statement on the FRG Episcopate's position vis-a-vis the activities of the FRG revisionist associations.

The conference of the FRG bishops decided to publish a special seven-point statement on the FRG Episcopate's position vis-a-vis the resettlers, regional associations, and revisionist organizations in the FRG. The statement says that pastoral care for the resettlers is good because it was set up by the Holy See. Yes, this is true, but this took place 40 [date as published; resettlement of Germans was in 1945] years ago on the inspiration of another pope and in a situation where resettling was just carried out and the new arrivals in West Germany were genuinely different people. However, the conference of the FRG bishops continues to take the view that the heirs to the old resettlers should be given special pastoral care. The FRG bishops cling to the revisionist definition of "expellees" and continue to say that "those expelled from their homeland cannot be called revisionists" because as early as 1950 they decidedly rejected revenge and in the past few years their organizations "have continued to confirm by words and deeds their readiness to promote reconciliation and friendship between our peoples."

I want to stress, J. Urban said, that we regard that statement as an expression of the FRG Episcopate's wish to continue the infamous tendency toward indirectly supporting the revisionists. On the same day that the aforementioned statement was made by the bishops, one Mr Herber Czaja made his statement. Czaja appealed to the FRG Government that, in connection with possible loans for Poland, the Poles "should not be given a single pfennig" as long as the "cultural identity" of the Germans -- of the mythical million of the alleged German minority living in Poland -- "is not secured." Czaja also demanded that the Polish side should accept the statement that "the entire German problem continues to be open." He talks further about the supposedly unrestrained discriminations against the Germans in their own fatherland. This means that he is claiming that Poland is the fatherland of the Germans.

Well, this is a foil to the West German bishops' assertion that there is no revisionism or revisionists and that all resettlers and their organizations proclaim love and conciliation. If what Czaja says is not a manifestation of aggressive revisionism I do not know what is and by what other name his attitude can be called. I regret that the conference of the FRG bishops is unable to see anything dangerous in his demands, which are in glaring conflict with the principles of conciliation among the peoples in our part of Europe that has been so severely afflicted by the expansionism and revenge originating in Germany.

NEW CODES ON OFFICIALS' DUTIES, CITIZENS' RIGHTS

AU311601 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28/29 Jul 84 p 1

[Text] In Warsaw on 22 July 1984, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski approved:

The Code of Duties of the State Officials of the PPR

The state official swears the following:

"Fully conscious of my duties, I solemnly swear that I will use all my strength in the position that has been entrusted to me, to further the socialist development of the PPR, that I will always be faithful to the PPR, that I will serve the state and its citizens, that I will perform the tasks entrusted to me conscientiously and with great care, observe the laws and principles of social justice while implementing them, and that I will show good will to the citizens and understanding for their interests as well as keep state and professional secrets."

A state official's duties are:

-- guarding the constitutional principles of the PPR;

-- having a sense of corresponsibility for the consolidation of the strength and influence of the socialist state, its security, and its defense;

-- guiding oneself along the socialist principles of social justice and watching over their consistent use;

-- relating local as well as community issues and resolutions to the interests of those of the whole of society and the state;

-- caring for internal peace, order, and public discipline, opposing social distortions, especially alcoholism, parasitism, and speculation;

-- having a careful attitude to social property, and opposing wastefulness, extravagance, and bad management;

-- carrying out professional duties conscientiously and on time, as well as exacting this from subordinates;

-- fixing and strictly observing work order at the office, punctuality, conscientiousness, and discipline;

-- showing initiative and competence and eliminating archaic procedures as well as bureaucracy;

-- working correctly by opposing the pursuit of private interests, the formation of cliques, arrogance, and the abuse of position and its rights;

-- respecting citizens and their rights, as well as their equality in the eyes of the law, and treating them tactfully and cordially, as well as examining and resolving the issues, proposals, and complaints they submit objectively and efficiently;

-- demanding that citizens observe the principles, standards, and rules that are in force in the state and exacting this of them;

-- supporting a creative activeness in the citizens in organizations and associations of work and in social activities;

-- having a specialist knowledge as well as a broad social one of the fields that are essential to the implementation of one's duties, as well as systematically increasing this knowledge;

-- guiding oneself, both in work as well as outside it, by the moral standards that are accepted in the socialist state and the rules of social coexistence;

-- ensuring a unity between words and actions, as well as keeping pledges and promises;

-- giving a personal cultural example through modesty and tactful behavior; and,

-- caring for the good name of and social confidence in one's office, institution, and the entire state administration.

The Rights of the Citizen and the Duties of the Official in PPR State Offices

I. The citizen in the state office has the right to:

1. Obtain the following information from the office that is the correct one to deal with the matter he is interested in settling:

-- who in the office he can present the given matter to;

-- which documents should be attached to the given proposal;

-- what the rules or deadlines concerning a given matter are;

-- if there is a chance of applying for concessions, a deadline extension, or paying off the installments due over a period of time;

-- what the possibilities are, in case of a negative decision, of applying for a repeal, or a complaint to the administrative courts or to the supreme bodies.

2. He has the right to present his proposals on his own matters or these in the interests of the public personally, or to put them in the record at the time that is designated for this purpose, or post them.

3. He has the right to receive, on demand, a written confirmation of the fact that he submitted his proposal to the office.

4. He has the right to obtain information as to whom he should send his proposal so that it is examined if the office he has applied to is not the correct one to deal with a given matter.

5. He has the right to obtain the following information:

-- about the shifts of the councillors or deputies that accept the electorate's complaints and proposals, and

-- about the hours in which the office chief receives the citizens' complaints and proposals.

6. He has the right to expect civilized and cordial treatment, as well as the objective and competent examination of his matters.

II. The state official is obliged to observe the following in relation to the citizen:

1. to respect the citizen's time and observe the office hours as well as efficiently organize the way in which he receives citizens;

2. to objectively and cordially treat all the citizens that come to him, and show particular concern for war and work veterans, disabled people, and pregnant women;

3. to provide citizens who come to the office with the right waiting conditions while their matter is being attended to;

4. to give citizens the necessary information that would be of use in the settlement of a given matter, as well as to clearly explain the contents of the binding regulations;

5. to deal with the matter on the spot, if the realistic and legal possibility of doing so exists, by immediately giving the citizen a decision or by giving him a clear deadline for the examination and resolution of the matter if the former is not possible;

6. to strive to let the citizen know if there are any circumstances that will cause the delay of the matter being settled in the fixed time and giving him a new, final deadline;

7. to comprehensively and patiently justify the negative decisions he takes;

8. to warn the citizen in justifiable circumstances of any consequences that threaten him should he consciously submit any information that is misleading or libelous to the official; and

9. to react resolutely when the citizen is undermining the authority of the office or is violating the binding rules through his action or behavior, especially when he is under the influence of alcohol.

CONTROL COMMISSION PRESIDIUM MEETS 27 JULY

AU010857 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28/29 Jul 84 pp 1-2

[Text] PAP -- The Presidium of the PZPR Central Control Commission met on 27 July. The chairmen of the voivodship party control commissions in the Bydgoszcz, Katowice, Radom, and Warsaw Voivodships had been invited to take part. An assessment was made of the jurisdictional activities of the Central Party Control Commission and of primary-level party control commissions during the first half of 1984.

During this period, the abovementioned party control commissions examined over 3,500 cases involving party members, including about 1,250 appeals from party members against earlier decisions. They expelled 186 persons from the party and imposed party sanctions on 320. The main reasons for these penalties were violation of the ethical norms in force in the party; conduct counter to the principles of socialist coexistence; and mismanagement, waste, and breach of professional ethics.

At the same time, the abovementioned commissions cleared 178 comrades of previous charges on the basis of the results of investigations. Taking advantages of their statutory powers, they also approved 427 appeals to cancel previous party punishments, recognizing that these punishments had already achieved their purpose as confirmed in reports presented to primary party organizations.

During the first half of this year, the Central Party Control Commission and primary-level party control commissions held about 2,700 warning talks. One out of three of such talks involved cases of mismanagement which had been brought to the attention of the commissions and for which party members had been blamed. In addition, the commission looked into over 3,200 complaints contained in letters from party and nonparty workers to the commissions during the period in question.

The Presidium ordered the Central Party Control Commission and primary-level control commissions to render primary party organizations further comprehensive assistance concerning party jurisdictional activities. It also drew attention to the need to improve and intensify the activity of party control commissions, especially those in rural areas.

The Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission adopted the stance whereby commissions at all levels should react to any case of mismanagement, waste, bureaucratism, and bad approach toward working people's affairs of party members with even greater determination and consistency, especially in the present socioeconomic situation.

BARCIKOWSKI, GORYWODA ON 1985 CENTRAL PLAN

AU011721 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jul 84 pp 1-2

[Andrzej Leszczynski report: "Party Organizations Are Co**creating the** 1985 Central Plan in the Trend for Social Consultation"]

[Text] An important phase in the shaping of the 1985 Central Annual Plan has begun. The assumptions of the central annual plan were published in TRYBUNA LUDU and other papers several days ago. This initiated a social discussion on the origins of next year's plan. The assumptions of the central annual plan will be reviewed with PZPR organizations and cells and other political parties; this is already a legal duty. They will also be the subject of debates in the Sejm and voivodship people's councils, of discussions inenterprises and on the platform of trade unions, social organizations, and in national circles.

The party is preparing itself for consultations on this important subject with much attention. It was precisely this that the 28 July meeting of PZPR voivodship committee economic secretaries was dedicated to discussing. The meeting was chaired by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary.

Each year the economic plan for the next year is determined by the results obtained the previous year. This is why Franciszek Kubiczek, first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, presented the expected results for this year's plan on the basis of the results obtained during the first 6 months of 1984.

Taking into consideration the rising growth rate of industrial production in 1984, one can expect that this area of the annual plan will be carried out and even exceeeed. Nor are there any fears about the implementation of the planned deliveries to the market. However, the size of our exports is at risk. People's incomes and investments spending are growing at a worrying rate that is above the planned levels.

Next year's plan is geared toward the implementation of the goals set down in the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-85, Deputy Premier Manfred Gorywoda, chairman of the Planning Commission, said. But the shape of next year's plan must, by the nature of things, be influenced by the departures that we have made from the implementation of the plan during the past 2 years, particularly the failure to overcome the unbalanced state on the investment front and in the monetary-market field.

It is necessary to take into account our limited labor resources and shortages of raw and other materials. Under such conditions, the basic strategic task is to restore economic equilibrium, Deputy Premier M. Gorywoda said. The deputy premier made a separate remark about drawing up plans for the regions and planning the role of the newly elected people's councils in this field.

Here is the broad background of conditions under which the shape of next year's plan will be examined during the course of the party consultations: In accordance with the principles adopted by the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat, the organizers of the consultations within the party organizations in the voivodships are the voivodship committees, while the PZPR Central Committee problem commissions and the PZPR Central Committee Economic Department will organize the nationwide consultations.

The party's tasks and goals in this important consultation campaign can be divided into two groups, Marek Holdakowski, first deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Economic Department, said. First, we are concerned with the immediate tasks -- that is, to draw up plans for enterprises on the basis of the consultation results, that are more mature than last year's plans, plans that are based on economic realism and are in accordance with the main goals of the central annual plan. The party organizations should prompt and encourage creative searches for more economical and cheaper production methods, as well as inspire the development of systems for the consultation of the plans with enterprises. Party cells and organizations should care for the development of a broad social debate over the regional plans that map out the front of activities for the newly elected people's councils.

The second group of goals are indirect and have an educational nature. The consultations should increase the party awareness of the conditions for development in 1985. They should favor the party aktiv's adoption of the plan's main problems."

On a broader scale, the consultations should become lessons for civic attitudes, lessons that would teach a more mature awareness of basic truths such as the fact that in order to be able to divide, one must first produce; and assistance in overcoming difficulties should be sought in our own capabilities -- within the enterprise and not solely from outside it. The consultations should teach us to look at the economic cohesively as well as at the conditions in which it is developing.

It is expected that the voivodship consultations will continue in August, and the PZPR Central Committee commissions will analyze the propoasls made at the beginning of September.

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politiburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, took the floor at the end of the meeting. He stressed the need to make efforts to overcome the economic disequilibrium. He said the important tasks facing the party members are to set into motion the various means for increasing the production of the market goods that people need. Every initiative that produces sought-after goods is a valuable one.

Speaking of the excessive investment spending that has taken place, K. Barcikowski encouraged party aktivists to devote less attention to newly embarked-upon investments and to gear their main interests toward concluding the old investments in time. Comrade K. Barcikowski drew attention to the need to increase the responsibility of the aktivs and the party members who are working in the economic sphere. The party must increase its demands on them.

DIRECTION OF PLURALISM IN TRADE UNIONS, SOCIETY

AU031458 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jul 84 p 3

[Jerzy J. Salecki article: "About Pluralism"]

[Excerpts] The events, familiar to all of us, that occurred not so long ago determined the nature of the most recent development of the Polish trade unions. The rebirth of the trade unions on the basis of the Trade Union Law of October 1981, which was inspired by the wishes of the working people, has often triggered mistrust and disbelief as well as, even more frequently, emotional prejudices strengthened by slanderous rumors, defamation, and moral blackmail.

The reborn trade union movement, which affirmed socialist reality, was developed by the most militant workers grassroots, and is now a rallying point of one-third of the working people; is an important factor in the structure of socialist democracy and constitutes a manifestation that confirms unceasing progress in normalizing and stabilizing our people's sociopolitical life.

The thesis that the working people have common interests despite branch and vocational differences, is indisputable. The common class interests of the workers, who are the leading force in trade union organizations, are indisputable. These indisputable facts are the foundation of the Leninist theory of the trade union movement as a class movement that assumes a uniform position on the working people's key issues such as the ownership of production means, the government of the workers class, and socialist construction.

It is necessary to view in that context the voices on the subject of so-called trade union pluralism, on the subject of the existence of actually competing trade unions. In the fall of 1980 the demand for trade union pluralism embodied the workers' demands for setting up self-governing and independent trade unions that would not be prey to bureaucracy and the whims of economic administration. Pluralism in that shape was understood as a renewal of the trade union movement in line with the slogan "Socialism -- yes, distortions -- no." It was devoid of political implications, at least according to the workers' understanding.

However, the slogan of pluralism, which is being proclaimed nowadays by some people, is of unambiguous political significance in our new reality in which trade unions are genuine, independent, and self-governing organizations. What some people want to do is to set up an organization that would be able to exploit legal powers for activities having little to do with trade union activities.

It is significant that those who in 1981 proclaimed that only a single trade union organization should represent workers, tried to get rid of "competitors" at every step, and often demanded that other organizations of the working people should be deprived of their powers, are now talking about pluralism.

Nevertheless, it is significant that those who are now bandying about the slogan of trade union pluralism are displaying a remarkable consistency and unanimity in failing to see that pluralism does exist in Polish public life and that it is pluralism that unites and strengthens the Polish people and Poland.

I have in mind above all the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which now is a rallying point of hundreds of thousands of citizens who profess various philosophies, views, conviction and sentiments, but who are united on the most important issue: That it is necessary to act for the good of the people and the socialist fatherland.

Pluralism is being reflected in the activities of various social, cultural, and religious organizations and is present in the press, scientific publications, and cultural activities. The crux of the matter is the purpose of pluralistic activities: Are they to expand the platform for the dialogue among patriots and to help mobilize various efforts for the common cause of Poland, or are they to divide and differentiate as well as create more and more dividing ditches, which are now being filled up? The trade union law lays down precisely who is entitled to change regulations, take the initiative on such changes, and consult with the people on draft changes.

It is above all trade unionists and the working people interested in the trade union movement who have the right to speak of the future of trade unionism and its organizational structures. The political gamblers and kibitzers in opposition to present reality have the least to say in this regard. As an inherent element of the system of socialist democracy, the pluralism of public life will undoubtedly produce new initiatives and facts, which will always be of service for us -- citizens of socialist Poland.

CC OFFICIAL ON PZPR'S IDEOLOGICAL DIRECTION

AU032155 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Aug 84 p 3

[Interview given by Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Central Committee's Ideological Department, to Anna Pawlowska: "The Social Presentation of the Party's Desire and Aims"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Pawlowska] The new general party training year in the fall is meant to start with the declaration adopted by the National Conference of PZPR Delegates entitled "What We Are Fighting for, Where We Are Headed." This document has been the subject of general party discussion at least twice and in various versions; hence the question arises: Why discuss it again?

[Loranc] Because it is only the last draft of the declaration that has become the actual document itself as a result of the conference's approval. But I do not wish to go through the long history of its emergence. It is enough to recall that the document is really the result of very broad general party discussion, a sum of collective party experience, so to speak. The importance of one of these discussions in particular, in the spring of 1982, cannot be exaggerated. It really helped the party "get back on its feet." It restricted the ideological and political disorientation among the party ranks at that time, aided an understanding of the complicated conditions behind our activity, and facilitated an identification of the adversary and a principled assessment of his real goals.

[Pawlowska] What in your opinion may the nonparty reader see in the declaration? What in it could interest him and convince him as to the party's intentions?

[Loranc] This is a very obvious yet difficult question, among other things, because "nonparty reader" is a broad and loose term. However, I do hope that the contents of the document may dissipate some of the concern and doubts shared by certain circles of society. I do not want to summarize or discuss the declaration sentence by sentence. I will point out only three facts.

First, concerning our genesis, and the traditions which we regard as our own: The declaration says that the year 1944 arose out of decades of revolutionary demands by the Polish workers class, and that the party is backed by the traditions and experiences of entire generations of workers who brought to the party the truth about the steadfastness of battle for social liberation and national independence. For bitter experience teaches us how frail national freedom is without the settlement of social issues. This is also an indirect answer to recent accusations about a "premature assumption of authority."

Second, concerning the workers nature of the party: This workers nature is based on the fact that the party is strengthening the role of the workers class in society and that it places workers class interests in first place when selecting activity goals. But it is also based on the fact that the party knows how to seek allies for the workers class and supporters for its interests. Thus, the decisive role of the workers class is not "directed against" any group of working people.

Third, concerning the protection of peace: The party has revealed that the contemporary vicious anticommunist crusade is not just harming the political system of real socialism, but by doing so is also threatening human existence and provoking total war.

I believe that the above mentioned topics contained in the declaration -- the history and richness of socialist traditions in Poland, the nonantagonistic attitude of workers class interests toward those of other strata of working people, and the class nature of the threat to peace -- may in a certain sense put in order the experience of our society on the historical, social, and political level. They may dispel social fears that are still being deftly aroused by centers of ideological subversion. In particular, they may bring to the party the confidence of society.

A broad and intelligent party discussion on the document, a discussion that is open to human doubts and vacillations, may and should become an important feature of our policy of accord at a time when we have made by means of this declaration another important step confirming the fact that with us, words do not depart from deeds.

INVESTIGATION OF FATAL SHOOTING NEAR LUBRZA

LD031652 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1505 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] A dozen or so weeks ago we reported a tragic event that took place near Lubrza. As a result of a shot, 20-year-old Stanislaw A. was killed. An investigation carried out by the Zielona Gora Voivodship Prosecutor's Office was discontinued. It was established during the investigation procedure that the conduct of a citizens' militia official toward four young men intoxicated with alcohol and making a fire in a woods at night was justified. Those persons violated the rules of the misdemeanor code, and three of them were punished by a regional misdemeanor court in Swiebodzin, in May of the current year.

It was established during the investigation that the men, who were asked for identity documents, could not have had any doubts concerning the authority of the person who asked them to do so. Nevertheless they adopted an aggressive attitude and attacked the militia official and a person who was helping him.

The militiaman, attacked by several drunk men, fired warning shots. Assaulted and knocked down, seeing that the other man was also being attacked, he fired a shot mortally wounding Stanislaw A. The testimony of the militiaman that he fired the shot at close range and from a recumbent position was confirmed by experts.

The opinion that the use of the firearm was in accordance with the rules is supported by Article 9 of the law of the minister of internal affairs, and the decree of the minister of internal affairs of 6 January 1984, and made the militiaman's evidence that he fired the shot in self-defense highly credible.

The decision to discontinue the investigation became legally binding as of 21 July of the current year after it was validated by the Prosecutor General's Office.

PERSONS SENTENCED FOR SPECULATION JAN-JUN 1984

AU021234 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 31 Jul 84 pp 1-2

[Text] PAP -- Some 4,355 persons have been sentenced for speculation in the first half of this year, 803 more than in the first half of 1983. Despite numerous local and nationwide controls, speculation continues to disturb the market, and its social harm has not diminished.

Speculation assumes various forms: purchase of goods in order to sell them at a profit, purchase of goods direct from wholesalers, hiding goods in the back of shops, and cheating customers in the weight and quality of goods. Particularly dangerous nowadays is organized speculation, where dozens of people and goods worth many millions of zlotys are often involved. Some 279 persons involved in activity of this kind have been sentenced this year, more than twice as many as last year.

The danger posed by speculation is why speculation is not covered by the amnesty. This fact is an expression of social dispproval for its perpetrators and a sign of increasingly severe punishment for their deeds.

In the first half of the year, courts imposed more fines on speculators than in 1983. Over 44 percent of the fines imposed in addition to imprisonment ranged from Z20,000 to Z50,000, and 11 percent thus imposed were over Z50,000. The extent of penal sanctions is also illustrated by the fact that the courts imposed additional punishment more frequently during this period. Some 276 persons were banned from holding a certain post and the sentences of 428 were made public.

The total value of goods confiscated from speculators during the first half of this year is almost Z28 million. Here are some examples of court sentences:

The Zywiec Regional Court sentenced Mieczyslaw C. to 2 and 1/2 years imprisonment plus a fine of Z600,000 for purchasing from socialized trade outlets over Z1 million worth of liquor, including beer, plus confectionery and other goods, for the purpose of reselling them at a profit.

Kazimierz D., an accomplice in this case, received 1 and 1/2 years imprisonment, conditionally suspended for 3 years, plus a Z60,000 fine. In breach of regulations, Kazimierz D. had issued permits for the purchase of goods meant to be sold at a private restaurant at speculative prices. At the same time, the court banned Mieczyslaw C. from conducting any trade or service activity for 10 years and Kazimierz D. from holding a managerial post for 4 years.

Barbara M., manager of a shop selling textiles and knitwear belonging to the "Peasants Self-Help" Cooperative in Sieradz Voivodship, "purchased" 1 day blankets, towels, and sheets worth almost Z160,000, whereas these goods should have been sold as part of normal business. The indictment against her involved two other persons who helped ship these goods and concealed them, knowing that they were destined for speculative activity.

The Sieradz Regional Court sentenced Barbara M. to 1 and 1/2 years imprisonment (conditionally suspended for 5 years probation), plus a fine of Z500,000, and banned her from holding any post involving responsibility over goods for 5 years. The two accomplices each received 1 year imprisonment, suspended for 4 years probation, plus fines of Z400,000 and Z300,000 respectively.

Almost 750 automobile tires were collected by another speculator, 31 year-old Leon Zdzislaw K., the Grodzisk Wielkopolski Regional Court sentenced him to 1 and 1/2 years imprisonment (suspended for 3 years probation) plus a Z200,000 fine.

During less than 6 months, Zbigniew N., a franchise holder of a restaurant, procured from a wine producer alcoholic beverages worth a total of Z1.4 million. He then sold the liquor, including domestic wines, at raised prices and achieved a speculative profit of Z800,000.

The Luban Regional Court (Lelenia Gora Voivodship) sentenced Zbigniew N. to 2 years imprisonment (suspended for 5 years probation), plus a Z400,000 fine. Zbigniew N. will also be unable to conduct trade activity for 5 years.

CHURCH, SOLIDARITY PROMOTE SOBRIETY CAMPAIGN

LD031519 Vatican City International Service in English 1345 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Warsaw -- Poland's Catholic Church and the underground Solidarity movement have asked Poles on 1 August to give up [words indistinct] in a campaign to promote sobriety in a nation of heavy drinkers. Solidarity also indicated in printed appeals for the campaign that it feels a sober Poland is a freer Poland. Totalitarian government, it said, attempts to institute a modern form of slavery. Promotion of alcohol is a very effective method whereby this aim can be attained. The church's sobriety appeal emphasizes health and moral regeneration, but it also ties drunkenness to political repression. It is part of a continuing campaign, for vodka production in Poland is a state monopoly. Drunkenness is one of the most dangerous threats to not only our moral existence, but also to the biological life of the nation, said Bishop John Mazur in a pastoral letter. The bishop, who headed the committee which developed the campaign, also said: Let every drunk in this month be a reminder of the yoke of occupation and a symbol of those who are oppressed, persecuted and exploited, at any given time. A Catholic lay leader, active in the campaign, said: The idea is to give individuals control and responsibility for specific political acts. Although vodka production is worth an estimated 4 billion to the state, Premier Jaruzelski praised the church's initiative.

OLSZOWSKI SPEAKS ON CSCE NINTH ANNIVERSARY

AU031301 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Aug 84 pp 1, 7

["Statement" by Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski on ninth anniversary of CSCE Final Act; date and place not given]

[Text] PAP -- In connection with the ninth anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act in Helsinki, Stefan Olszowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, said:

The first of August will mark the ninth anniversary of the signing of the CSCE Final Act in Helskinki by 35 heads of state and government from Europe, the United States, and Canada. This document was a summing-up of the best experiences, and a success for the policy of peaceful coexistence. It indicated the road to a continuation of this policy and established international mechanisms for security and cooperation. The participants in and witnesses to this event felt that the document was closing a period of struggle initiated by the aggression of the Third Reich against Poland and other European states. It carried out the will of those who died, and brought to life the most vital interests and aspirations of the nations of Europe.

The origin of 1 August 1975 lies in the further stages of struggle by the nations of Europe and North America for a peace which could turn their aims into reality. Victory by the antifascist coalition over Nazism and the labor involved with rebuilding the damaged Europe lie at the source of that day, and these things were paid for in blood. Decades of peaceful initiatives by the socialist states and the ideas of intellectuals and mass peace movements aimed at defending peace have found expression in the Final Act. The Final Act involved realism by statesmen from all participating countries, and courage to depart from centuries-old, stereotyped methods of guaranteeing their interests and to proceed to ways of implementing their interests on the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

The source of 1 August 1975 in Helsinki also lies in the speech by Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki at the UN General Assembly in December 1964, in which he called for the convening of a European security conference. This appeal has been an integral part of the foreign policy of People's Poland, a policy defined by the historic manifesto of the Lublin-based Polish Committee for National Liberation, whose 40th anniversary we are currently celebrating. This manifesto said: "Polish foreign policy will be a democratic policy based on the principles of collective security."

The roots of the CSCE also lie in the treaties to normalize relations between Poland, the USSR, the CSSR, the GDR, and the FRG, the fruit of long-lasting and patient negotiations which became possible when realistic elements overcame the revanchist and revisionist forces in these countries.

The last of the abovementioned stages was characterized by hard, patient work by negotiators from 35 countries on the Final Act, work which lasted almost 3 years.

The importance of this document cannot be overestimated. For the first time in the history of Europe, where two world wars started and spread, a document expressed the will to build security and cooperation based on a respect for political and territorial reality shaped as a result of the antifascist coalition's victory, on a respect for nations' rights to select and develop political systems which suit them, and on a respect for human rights, starting with the primary right, the right to live in peace and security.

The Final Act expounded 10 basic principles which are binding in international relations. These principles, based on the principles of the UN Charter, have developed the experiences of the nations of Europe and express their most lively and justified interests.

The Final Act also expounded a broad and precise program of cooperation in all spheres -- the economy, science, culture, information, and international relations -- based, as it should always be stressed, on a full respect of the abovementioned 10 principles. This means equality by all partners, a lack of discrimination, a rejection of all restrictions, a respect for the sovereign political choices made by countries, and the rejection of efforts at intervening in these countries' domestic affairs.

The act also formulated a broad mechanism for continuing the work of CSCE in the form of meetings by government representatives and experts, seminars, and specialized meetings; this mechanism being regarded as the working process of Helsinki.

Poland was one of the few signatories of the Final Act that regarded it as purposeful and correct to present the contents of the act for approval by the supreme body of authority, the Sejm of the Republic. In October 1975, at its first session after the signing, the Sejm, having heard a report by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, adopted on the motion of the government a special resolution which approved the CSCE Final Act.

Unfortunately, the years which separate us from 1 August 1975, have not been politically cloudless ones. Not all the signatory governments have recognized the obligations stemming from the act to conduct a policy of detente and cooperation as binding upon them. Dangerous trends have arisen that signify a return to the policy of confrontation, attempts to impose one's will, and, consequently, attempts to use the CSCE mechanisms and Helsinki process as tools in this policy. The first dangerous sign was the Belgrade CSCE meeting (1977-78), which was used by the J. Carter administration to launch an antisocialist offensive. Then there were the well-known NATO armaments decisions in 1978 and 1979, initiated jointly by the United States and the FRG, as well as an open transition to an imperialist policy of confrontation and diktat by the Reagan administration.

During the Madrid CSCE conference (1980-83), there was particularly strong activity by the United States and most of its allies aimed at violating the Helsinki process; either halting it altogether or at least deforming its nature. The escalation of the arms race on land, sea, air, and space; anticommunist crusades; politically motivated economic restrictions; subversion and propaganda aggression; this is an incomplete list of the violations to the letter and spirit of the Final Act made by imperialist circles, especially the Reagan administration. It is incompete because even harsher phenomena have appeared recently -- the questioning of the basis for European cooperation and security formed by the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, in other words, a respect for the political and territorial reality of modern European and for the commitments made by countries to cooperate for the sake of preventing a repetition of war.

The growth of revisionist and revanchist trends in the FRG and of German chauvinism, and support for these trends expressed in the May Nato Council session, are a sign of the above questioning.

Despite the above efforts by some Western governments, the Helsinki process is not only continuing, but is spreading into such important spheres as the military activity of countries. During a time of seriously sharpened East-West relations as a result of the U.S. confrontational policy, resources aimed at significantly reducing the political and military tension on our continent are of particular importance.

In this context, the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe -- which commenced in January, as a result of a 1980 Polish initiative, among other things -- creates a real chance to restore confidence and reduce the danger of military confrontation in Europe. However, progress in the conference depends on the West's political desire to recognize the principles of uniform and equal security by all sides, and on a discontinuation by the United States and NATO of increased armaments and confrontation.

An important role is also played by other meetings organized as part of the CSCE process. The meeting in April this year by CSCE experts concerning a peaceful settlement of disputes has brought certain, albeit limited, results. Greater chances for a positive contribution to this process are posed by the seminar of CSCE signatory countries in October which is currently being prepared and which will deal with cooperation in the Mediterranean, plus a cultural forum in Budapest next year.

The prime guarantees for the continuation of the CSCE process and for its success are the determined and principled peaceful policy of the socialist countries, which are energetically defending its letter and spirit, and the realism of the nations of Europe, which are interested in continuing this process and establishing European detente and cooperation.

As one of the initiators of the constructive dialogue and general European cooperation which paved the way for the 1975 historic meeting of heads of state and government in Helsinki, Poland attaches great importance to the full implementation of the principles contained in the Final Act, and to further developing the CSCE process. General W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has stressed this successfully in one of his speeches, in which he said that "Poland has been and will remain an active spokesman for peace, detente, and disarmament. this stems from the humanitarian ideals of socialism which guide Poland, from our painful history, and from our contemporary national interests. We do not wish to relinquish our traditional role as one of the initiators and propagators of European cooperation. We believe such a role by Poland lies not only in Poland's interests."

The 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act will be on 1 August 1985. In accordance with the decisions reached at the Madrid conference, this anniversary is to be "celebrated in the appropriate way" in Helsinki. President Koivisto said recently in an interview for Finnish television that it would be desireable for the anniversary meeting to take place at the summit level, just as the signing of the act did. We understand this wish by the host country, joint, creator, and guardian of the historic act.

However, it is the political climate, the state of international relations, and the practical contents thereof that will primarily determine this "appropriate celebration." We would like this appropriate celebration to be in the form of a return to detente in all its aspects and in all spheres. We are ready to participate in this celebration. A return to detente is possible, and even more, necessary. Poland, the USSR, and all the other socialist states consistently support a reduction in tension, the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, and the observance of the CSCE Final Act. This is illustrated by numerous peaceful initiatives by the Warsaw Pact states, especially those contained in the January 1983 Prague Declaration by the Political Consultative Committee.

LIFTING OF POLISH SANCTIONS 'ELECTION TRICK'

LD052006 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 84

[Text] President Reagan's decision to abolish two smaller santions against the PPR following the proclamation of the Amnesty Law, which referred to the cancellation or relaxation of sentences of about 36,000 people, has rightly caused indignation in Warsaw's official circles. Here is Zrnka Novak:

According to Polish estimates, the price of the Western economic sanctions applied against Poland amounts to $13 billion. This was the extent of the loss directly caused by santions. As Army General Jaruzelski realistically stated in his speech at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of socialist power, Poland has the right to expect to receive relevant commercial and financial concessions, which will make it possible to replace the losses and facilitate the repayment of debts.

Poland is not an isolated island in the world; it is an integral part of the international community, in which the debts of developing countries are approaching $800 billion. It therefore has the right, just as the other countries which are affected by large sums of credit obligations, to seek the most favorable solution for itself. Therefore, the U.S. President's decision to abolish sanctions -- against landings by LOT and the resumption of mutual scientific-technological cooperation -- reminds one more of an election trick than of a serious political decision which would indicate some kind of beginning of more constructive economic conduct by the largest country of the West toward Poland.

After all, the existence of sanctions itself testifies that we live in a world of disrupted and extremely unequitable economic and political relations which, in their reverse value system, have made the aim of interfering or even exerting direct influence by great powers in the internal affairs of smaller countries a day-to-day practice. For Americans, the PPR is part of the so-called socialist camp. In an atmosphere of generally disrupted relations between the East and West, one need not expect the surprisingly broad new Polish law on amnesties bringing about any significant political changes in the conduct of Reagan's administration toward Poland. In the present state of affairs, there is a more identifiable hierarchy of mutually opposing tendencies or of readiness for relaxation between the two great poers. It is on them that relations with other countries inside the alliance depend.

But it is possible to expect that the Polish amnesties will have a different economic effect in the countries of Western Europe, among which some have not even up to now strictly respected the jointly adopted decisions on sanctions. This sould in any case help the Polish economy to more realistically plan its possibilities in the further period of overcoming the consequences of the crisis. It would also relieve its present dependence on other CEMA countries.

USSR, GDR POLEMICS THREATEN HONECKER VISIT

AU051751 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 5 Aug 84

[From the "Sunday at 10" program: Interview given by Milika Sundic to Nebojsa Jankovic "in our studio"; date not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Jankovic] Comrade Sundic, two Moscow PRAVDA attacks on the FRG's policy also contain overt rebukes to the GDR. What is, in fact, involved?

[Sundic] The responsible people in the GDR did not find it hard to decipher the two Moscow PRAVDA attacks on the FRG and its policy, because both articles stated much that also concerns the GDR. For instance, that Bonn uses the political and economic links between the two German states to undermine the GDR's sovereignty and political system, and that relations between Bonn and Berlin cannot be considered separately from the different international positions of the two German states.

Moscow, in fact, categorically opposes every separate activity of the two German states that would be directed toward reducing the consequences of the arms race and, in doing this, it also opposes their mutual contacts which, where the GDR, as an ally of the USSR is involved, are not verified by the so-called socialist community. The warnings, as can be seen, are direct and for all practical purposes deny the GDR's right to think, to put it this way, differently about relations with the FRG than PRAVDA.

[Jankovic] In the GDR, the warnings from Moscow were not passed over in silence. The public has been informed about the [word indistinct] of the PRAVDA article, as well as about the views that are different from the theses set forth in this article.

[Sundic] This is correct. The newspapers in the GDR carried PRAVDA's attacks on Bonn's policy, without skipping over those parts of the articles that concern Berlin. At the same time, an opposing view was published which deals with contacts between the two German states. What is involved is the commentary of the Hungarian trade union newspaper, NEPSZAVA, which welcomes the contacts between Bonn and Berlin as being indispensable in the current tense situation in Europe and the world.

[Jankovic] Have there been any direct reactions in the GDR itself?

[Sundic] Yes, a NEUES DEUTSCHLAND commentary contained a reaction that was very characteristic. This commentary, naturally, avoids an overt polemic with PRAVDA, but it clearly insists on the GDR's determination to continue with all its forces a political dialogue in the interest of peace. Erich Honecker's words to the effect that the GDR continues to make efforts to use all opportunities for talks aimed at halting armament are cited.

[Jankovic] It is obvious that the polemic has begun. Can it be expected that the polemical tones will be calmed down, and does the danger exist that Honecker will, ultimately, not go to Bonn at the end of September?

[Sundic] Had it not been for the publication of the second PRAVDA commentary, it could be believed that the first commentary would be overcome. However, everything now leads to the conclusion that this unexpected misunderstanding will have to be solved on some other level, perhaps even at the highest level. Namely, since Honecker is expected to leave for the FRG as late as at the end of next month, it could happen that before then he will meet with Konstantin Chernenko either in Moscow or the Crimea. It should, nonetheless, be expected that Honecker's visit to Bonn will not be jeopardized, or rather, that Berlin and Moscow will be able to overcome this unusual misunderstanding.

SOFIA RALLY DENIES MACEDONIAN IDENTITY

LD031432 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0850 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Sofia, 3 Aug (TANJUG) -- The Bulgarian policy of denying the identity of the Macedonian people, their history and their national liberation struggle manifested itself again at a mass public meeting last night in Sofia.

Among other things, the Macedonian folk songs and dances with which the Macedonian people have immortalized one of the most celebrated events of its history -- the Ilinden uprising of 2 August 1903 -- were declared to be Bulgarian.

The meeting in Sofia was formally dedicated to the 81st anniversary of the Ilinden uprising of the "Bulgarian population" in Macedonia and Thrace. Simeon Damyanov, director of the National History Museum, stated that this had been one of the greatest events "In Bulgaria's more recent history." He said that the uprising had been launched by the "Bulgarian population in Macedonia" with the aim of shaking off the Ottoman yoke and "joining Macedonia to mother Bulgaria."

Professor Damyanov stresses that modern Bulgaria and its sons and descendants should be proud of all those "Bulgarians" who laid down their lives in the Ilinden uprising. "The Ilinden uprising," Damyanov explains, "is an event of lasting importance. The heroic sacrifices made by the revolutionaries of Macedonia and Odrin made Bulgarians known again and in this way the Bulgarian nation was given a fresh confirmation of its self-awareness and renewed encouragement to carry on the struggle."

The great men of the Macedonian national liberation struggle at the beginning of this century -- Goce Delcev, Dane Grujev, Jane Sandanski, Nikola Karev, and many others -- were again declared Bulgarian at last night's meeting in Sofia.

The traditional festival of the latest films on historical themes is to open today in Manastir, a well-known Bulgarian cultural and historical center. According to reports in the press here, the festival will open with the film "Liberation" first shown in Sofia just before May Day.

The Yugoslav public already knows that this film openly makes Bulgarian territorial claims against Yugoslavia and the SR of Macedonia. The film presents an event in the national liberation struggle of the Macedonian people which took place in Ohrid in 1944 as opposition by the "exclusively Bulgarian" population of Ohrid to the German authorities in the "Bulgarian" town of Ohrid.

In this connection it was also announced that "Liberation" will begin to be shown in cinemas throughout Bulgaria next month as part of the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria after the Soviet Army came to its territory and toppled its fascist regime.

PRESIDENCY MEMBER VRHOVEC MEETS GDR'S SCHUERER

AU032137 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 84 p 6

[Text] Zagreb -- Josiv Vrhovec, member of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday met Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. Further improvement of the good and friendly relations that exist between the two countries was discussed during the meeting which was also attended by Ljubo Majeric, SFRY Ambassador to the GDR.

DJURANOVIC WELCOMES MUBARAK ON ARRIVAL IN BRIONI

LD061142 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1041 GMT 6 Aug 84

[Text] Brioni, August 6 (TANJUG) -- Egyptian President Husni Mubarak arrived in Brioni today, Monday, on a brief visit to Yugoslavia. At the Pula airport, the Egyptian president was welcomed by President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Veselin Djuranovic.

Mubarak and Djuranovic will discuss bilateral cooperation and international issues, primarily the activity of non-aligned countries towards solving topical international problems. Husni Mubarak will spend a short holiday in Yugoslavia.

CONGOLESE FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVES LCY'S LOLIC

AU041708 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 84 p 6

[Text] Brazzaville -- Pierre Nze, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Congolese Labor Party and minister of foreign affairs of Congo, has received Marko Lolic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who is heading an LCY delegation to the Congolese Labor Party Congress. Cooperation between the LCY and the Congolese Labor Party as well as Yugoslav-Congolese relations in general were positively assessed. It was said that economic relations between the two countries should be advanced.

RETAIL PRICES RISE 5.4 PERCENT FROM JUNE TO JULY

LD031844 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1705 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Belgrade, August 3 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Federal Statistics Institute has announced that retail prices in Yugoslavia rose 5.4 percent last month as compared to June. From January to July this year, retail prices jumped 23 percent. Compared to July 1983, retail prices in July this year were 62.1 percent higher, which means that the current annual inflation rate stands at 62.1 percent, or the highest level so far.

Prices of services recorded the highest increase in July -- 11.9 percent, with prices of crafts and personal services, transport and services accounting for the highest rises -- from 13.9 to 15.7 percent. At the same time, prices of agricultural products fell 2.4 percent, somewhat checking the overall rate of price increases.

PAPAL MESSAGE TO BISHOP CONTRARY TO 1966 ACCORD

LD031842 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Text] Belgrade, August 3 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav daily BORBA today, Friday, assesses a message sent by Pope John Paul II to the Trebinje bishopric in Yugoslavia as contrary to the basic principles of the protocol signed between Yugoslavia and the Holy See in 1966.

BORBA reports that the papal message to the Trebinje bishopric on its 1000th anniversary states, among other things, that the Catholic religion is a "target of those who spread materialistic teachings," and that, as a result "spiritual values are undermined and much harm inflicted on the young."

The message was read at celebrations in the Trebinje bishopric Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, before high mass, BORBA writes, invoking GALS KONCILE, the organ of the Catholic church in Yugoslavia.

BORBA writes that it is being forgotten that, under the protocol, the Vatican has, in the first place, recognized the principles on which is based the regulation of the legal status of the religious communities in Yugoslavia.

Under the protocol, BORBA sets out, the Vatican has explicitly recognized also the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as the sole basis of regulating relations between the church and the state in Yugoslavia.

It is being forgotten also that under the document, the Vatican recognizes the social political order of Yugoslavia, BORBA writes. It sets out that the papal message by-passes the principles set in the 1966 protocol and that this "can only harm further strengthening of the hitherto satisfactory relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia.

BOOK ON 1968 STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS BANNED

AU032143 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 84 p 12

[M.P. report]

[Text] Belgrade -- The Criminal Council of the Belgrade District Court, presided over by Judge Tomica Sekularac, handed down a decision on Monday afternoon permanently banning the book "Spittle Full of Blood" by Zivojin Pavlovic, writer and film director from Belgrade. The book was published this year by Belgrade Narodna Knjiga Publishing Work Organization.

According to the court, Zivojin Pavlovic's book was banned because it includes alarming contentions on the 1968 student events, which can upset the public.

Jovan Angelus, representative of the publishers, who is head of the Narodna Knjiga editorial board, and Narodna Knjiga editors Vasilije Kalezic and Radoslav Mirosavljev, the latter also being one of the reviewers, were heard before the court on Monday. They suggested that the proposal of the District Public Prosecutor's Office on banning the book not be accepted, but that only some parts of the book be banned, but this was not accepted by the court.

By the court's decision, all copies of the book will be taken away and will be destroyed after the decision comes into effect.

ZARKOVIC ADDRESSES BROTHERHOOD, UNITY RALLY

LD051408 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0941 GMT 5 Aug 84

[Excerpts] Zubacki Ubli, 5 Aug (TANJUG) -- Working people and citizens from 10 neighboring municipalities of Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Croatia -- Niksic, Tivat, Herceg-Novi, Kotor, Cetinje, Budva, Bileca, Trebinje, Ljubinje and Dubrovnik -- have gathered today for the 23rd traditional brotherhood and unity rally at Zubacki Ubli in Trebinje municipality.

At today's festivities, which began yesterday with the gethering of more than 10,000 people from all the neighboring municipalities and other areas, as well as a cultural-artistic program organized by this year's host of the manifestation, the town of Kotor, there was also an address by Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee, in which he emphasized first of all that the agreement made at Zubacki Ubli in August 1941 was an event of great historical importance. History has made sure that those who made this agreement will never be forgotten, because it was they who decided that Montenegrins, Croats, Muslims, and Serbs from these areas should, under the banner of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [KDJ], jointly oppose the fascist hordes and traitors from their own ranks, and eliminate all trace of those who had for centuries sown discord among the people.

We must strengthen brotherhood and unity and our togetherness through constant and unwavering struggle against everything which seeks to undermine and weaken it, Vijoje Zarkovic stressed, and above all against nationalism in any form -- unitarist-centralist, separatist, or irredentist.

Today, Zarkovic stated, nationalists and enemies of all hues are joining forces, and all that they have in common, apart from a historically retrograde consciousness, is their hatred of socialist, self-managing, nonaligned Yugoslavia. In recent times the counter-revolutionary activity of groups and individuals acting from bourgeois right-wing positions is becoming increasingly open and aggressive, as they attempt to destroy our constitutional order, liquidate the LCY and set up a multiparty system of bourgeois democracy. They are acting, according to Zarkovic, in a well-planned and organized manner, skillfully making use of the opportunism in our ranks and often even the legal institutions of our political system, with the help of very organized links with reactionary circles in the West.

They shed crocodile tears for our freedom and democracy at every measure taken by the organs of public order and judicial organs against their sympathizers, even those who are striving to revive the specters of the past, the bestial cut-throat policies of our history. In this way, Zarkovic said, they are in fact testing to see whether as a result of our economic difficulties we have perhaps become more susceptible to pressures for change in our internal political system and international position. But they are gravely mistaken in their calculation that they can hoodwink us like that. Our society has known, knows now, and will continue to know how to steadfastly resist all attacks on its existence and its constitutional foundations, Vidoje Zarkovic stressed.

Noting that there is no need to dogmatically defend normative-institutional solutions which have not endured the test of social practice, Zarkovic said that the constitutional principles and solutions which guarantee the role of associated labor and strengthen its social power are not subject to any kind of revision. There is no room either for any debates, and still less changes, which would mean diverging from the constitutional principles and solutions which guarantee the national equality and rights of the socialist republics and provinces with regard to their development and the development of the country as a whole. Any kind of change in the political system which would mean a retreat from relations already realized and affirmed in practice in the Federation, relations built on the foundations of equality, brotherhood and unity, negotiations, agreement-reaching, and solidarity, is impermissable.

However, everything in practice and in institutional solutions is subject to considered criticism and change if it has been shown to be an obstruction to fuller and more consistent realization of the constitutional principles and strategic orientations of our socialist self-managing society and federal community, Zarkovic stressed.

Turning to the conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, Vidoje Zarkovic emphasized that it is not by chance that the LC has at this moment decided to publicly and openly, critically and self-critically, speak about itself. The aim is to reach a clearer understanding of its role in the present phase of social development when we are facing complex and difficult tasks.

This period and these tasks demand the kind of people, the kind of Communists whose fervor, enthusiasm and faith are equal to the fervor with which in the course of the armed revolution we went from victory to victory, and that postwar fervor with which we built the country more or less with our bare hands. It requires people with knowledge and zeal, prepared for sacrifice and a decisive struggle against opportunism and apathy, panic and hopelessness; people who believe in the future of their people and their Socialist Yugoslavia; and those are above all young people, Vidoje Zarkovic said at the impressive people's rally at Zubacki Ubli.

GENERAL RADAKOVIC ON STRUGGLE AGAINST DOGMATISM

AU011817 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 84 p 11

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the uprising in Croatia, and of 40 years since the liberation of Gracac and the Communes of Obrovac, Zadar, Biograd, Knin, Benkovac, Drnis, Sibenik, Donji Lapac, and Titova Korenica, meetings of youth and veterans were recently organized in the place of Otric.

On this occasion, unveiling the monument to the Ninth Guerrilla Partisan Detachment and commissioning a section of the Gracac-Otric main road, warrior and People's Hero Colonel General Ilija Radakovic, deputy federal secretary for national defense, said, among other things:

Once turned into reality, this dream of freedom remains forever. Freed from the occupier and from the capitalist yoke, we freed ourselves from Stalinist shackles as well, we are freeing ourselves from and fighting against all forms of dogmatism....

In taking the oath in 1941, we did so with Tito's idea of a pledge to revolution, taking on ourselves the obligation to serve it till the end and to always remain on the bulwark of its achievements. This is why the veterans are still today, on their own behalf and especially on the behalf of their dead comrades, obliged and competent to fight for moral norms, Yugoslav socialist patriotism, for brotherhood, unity, and equality of peoples and nationalities, and are responsible for all achievements of the struggle for national liberation and revolution.

First they were rebels, then guerrillas, then partisans, among whom, Communists and Communist youth members were in the minority, but the party, having sensed the true feeling of the people, offered struggle as a true answer and only solution. This is why it was able to place itself at the head of the struggle, to ensure for it the character of a mass democratic national front. And this experience is valid for today as well: Every Communist has to be a SAWPY activist, because the LC cannot realize the role of the workers class vanguard outside of the widest front, that is, beyond and above the people. Hence the warning in the proposal of the LCY Central Committee conclusions that have just been submitted to debate that sectarianism towards the SAWPY leads to alienating the LC from the people, that the SAWPY cannot be a transmission [as published] of the LC, and that the struggle for realizing the constitutional concept of the SAWPY is, at the same time, a struggle against bringing the LC to the position of a classical-type party and bringing society back to statist relations.

DJURANOVIC VISITS OTEKS TEXTILES PLANT IN OHRID

LD032214 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 3 Aug 84

[Excerpts] Ohrid, 3 Aug (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, visited the Oteks Textiles Plant in Ohrid today and talked with representatives of the sociopolitical organizations and management organs. Djuranovic stressed, among other things, that the key aim of our policy is to halt the further fall in real personal incomes in order to ensure greater motivation for work among the working people and to prevent lack of confidence in the action on the implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization.